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THE Nation

VOLUME 147 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • OCTOBER 1, 1938 NUMBER 14

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The Shape of Things

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HITLER'S USUAL WEEKLY PRONOUNCEMENT, delivered this past Monday, was remarkably empty of meaning. It was also remarkable for its bombast, its hysterical excitement, and its display of fanatical self-appreciation. It was the speech of a man who was stalling desperately but who couldn't afford to back down. Hitler not only retailed his unappreciated efforts in the cause of peace and insisted again upon his warm friendship for France; he also disclaimed all territorial ambitions beyond the German areas of Czechoslovakia. And he made the amazing assumption that the terms of his Godesberg demands were identical with the original demands accepted under duress at the hands of Britain and France by the Prague government; at least he asserted with every show of righteous ferocity that Benes had endangered the peace of Europe by refusing the Godesberg plan and thus "breaking his promise." This calculated nonsense fooled no one outside the ranks of his insulated and hypnotized followers. The rest of the world studied it in the light of the events of the day that preceded it, and tried to calculate just how far Hitler had actually stepped down after receiving the earnest if belated appeal from President Roosevelt, and the clear statement —actually for the first time—that France, Britain, and the Soviet Union would jointly act if he sent troops across the Czechoslovak border. In our opinion one of the most sinister things that could happen would be a compromise between the Berchtesgaden and the Godesberg demands, backed again by Britain and France. Toward some such way out—a way that would still insure him the loot without the dangers involved in stealing it—Hitler's speech obviously pointed. We hope passionately that Chamberlain and Daladier will not seek a temporary peace at such a price, but their feverish last-minute efforts indicate just such an intention.

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PRESS COVERAGE OF EUROPE'S CRISIS WITHIN the past three weeks has set a new high mark in efficiency for a system of news gathering that is one of the great contributions of our age. But what is far more important,

THE NATION, Published weekly at 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter December 13, 1897, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1938, by The Nation, Inc.

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because of honest reporting the weight of this powerful device has been thrown for the most part to the side of decency and democracy and against the lies and brutality of the fascist powers. G. E. R. Gedye's Prague dispatches to the New York *Times,* like his earlier dispatches from Vienna in the March days, stand at the top of the list. Profoundly moving, yet genuinely objective and informative, they have helped to mobilize the conscience of the world and given "mere journalism" a new stature. And the same can be said to a lesser degree of the work of a dozen others scattered over Europe. M. W. Fodor for the Chicago *News,* Ferdinand Kuhn and Emil Vadnay for the New York *Times,* Joseph Driscoll and Walter B. Kerr for the *Herald Tribune,* among others, have contributed to a foreign correspondence that has been an important element in stiffening American opinion in support of the Czechoslovak republic. And on this score we are glad to be able to say that the editorial policy of such conservative papers as the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* has matched the work of their correspondents. There have been ominous exceptions. The Hearst press has supported the Nazi program in its headlines even when the dispatches beneath told a different story. The New York *Daily News* has warmly advocated partition. And P. J. Philip of the *Times* has consistently overemphasized the sell-out sentiment in France. War would, of course, bring censorship and distortion in all countries. But in this pre-war respite the European press corps is increasing the prestige and strength of democracy itself against the day of its showdown with reaction in whatever country.

*

MILLIONS OF AMERICANS, UNWILLING TO wait for their daily newspapers, have depended largely on the radio for news during the tense days of the past fortnight. In addition to the regular news dispatches, some of the chains, notably the Columbia Broadcasting System, have done a superb job in bringing frequent broadcasts direct from European capitals. As a result, the average American with a radio set has had the opportunity to obtain as broad and up-to-the-minute picture of the shifting developments making for war or peace as any but the highest European statesmen. In undertaking what may go down in history as the radio's greatest educational achievement, Columbia has developed the technique so auspiciously started in last spring's Austrian crisis. Special credit should be given to its commentator on foreign affairs, H. B. Kaltenborn, for his skilful and penetrating analysis of the various European reports, as well as to Edward R. Murrow for organizing Columbia's European service and for his informative broadcasts. Not the least of Murrow's "scoops" was the brilliant and touching speech of Jan Masaryk, Czech minister to London, on the night of the Godesberg fiasco. Among the regular news commentators George Hamilton Combs of Station WMCA (New York) stands in a class by himself. His vivid word pictures, sense of drama, and fair, intelligent interpretation put to shame many of the more highly touted commentators. The Mutual Broadcasting System also deserves credit for its Trans-Radio news and transcriptions of European short-wave broadcasts. It is at least pleasant to play with the idea of what would happen to Hitler and Mussolini, to say nothing of Chamberlain, if services of this kind were available generally throughout Europe.

*

WALL STREET HAS FAITHFULLY REFLECTED the alternations of the international crisis. When fears of war arose, stocks fell; recovery followed any apparent lifting of the clouds. These movements seem to have been occasioned less by calculations of how war would affect the economic position here than by the fact that acute uncertainty always causes a helter-skelter rush for liquidity. Up to the outbreak of the crisis domestic recovery appeared to be proceeding in a sober but encouraging way, with the Federal Reserve Index of industrial production rising from 83 in July to 88 in August. It is more than likely, however, that the rate of improvement has since been checked. The atmosphere of intense alarm and the obscurity of the immediate future cannot fail to promote the postponement of business decisions, particularly those relating to long-term capital projects. The most spectacular result of the crisis has been the pouring in of European refugee funds, which in the five weeks to September 21 added more than half a billion dollars to our embarrassingly excessive gold stocks. In the event of war we may expect a still greater influx. The question of where we shall stand if our present 56 per cent of the world's monetary gold rises to nearly 100 per cent has become a matter for immediate consideration.

*

MR. ROOSEVELT IS TO BE CONGRATULATED. The defeat of John J. O'Connor partially rewards the efforts for a purge not particularly effective elsewhere. Mr. O'Connor's loss of the Democratic Party renomination for Congress insures his removal as head of the powerful House Rules Committee. His victory in the Republican primary can hardly recompense a practical politician whose future depends on his reputation for party regularity. Mr. O'Connor would also lose seniority in Congress were he to win the election; but with both the Democratic and the American Labor Party supporting James H. Fay, O'Connor's retirement from office is conceded. No doubt the interests he has championed so faithfully will make his future prosperous, if less influential. Mr. Sabath of Illinois will succeed him as chairman of the Rules Committee. O'Connor's defeat was the second New Deal victory in the purge. The other was the defeat of William J. Driver of Arkansas, a conservative

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Democratic member of the same committee. Mr. Sabath, whose reputation is otherwise a mixed one, has a good voting record. The two vacancies on the committee will be filled by the House Ways and Means Committee. We urge voters in the home districts of Congressmen on the Ways and Means Committee to bring pressure to bear for the appointment of New Dealers to the Rules Committee, which has too often been the graveyard of important progressive legislation.

*

A NUMBER OF NLRB DECISIONS INVOLVING employers' "freedom of speech" have been criticized in recent months not only by the board's worst enemies but by some of its staunchest friends. We especially recall the dissatisfaction expressed by the Civil Liberties Union with the board's order prohibiting circulation of anti-union leaflets by the Ford Company in its plant at Covington, Kentucky. An illuminating and temperate analysis of the issues at stake in the most controversial of these cases has just been published by the International Juridical Association; its appearance coincides with the publication of a new statement by the Civil Liberties Union covering similar disputes. Both documents emphasize that in two of the most celebrated conflicts—relating to the Muskin Shoe Company and the Mock-Judson-Voerhinger Company—there is no solid ground for challenging the board's judgment. In neither case did the orders prohibit distribution of employer propaganda; they merely cited such propaganda as part of a violent and terroristic campaign in which the meaning of the Wagner Act was obliterated. The Ford case is unique, and the conclusions of the International Juridical Association in respect to it differ fundamentally from those of the Civil Liberties Union. The latter contends that in banning, among other things, circulation of employer propaganda among employees the board ignored the distinction between mere expression of employer opinion and actual coercive threats. The Juridical Association contends that the distinction, in the broad context of the employer-employee relationship, is a spurious one. This seems to us the more realistic view of an issue obscured by many fictions. Surely the effect of an employer's language cannot be measured by his tone or pronunciation; it must be seen in terms of an economic relationship that renders meaningless the theory of "equal" discussion.

*

THE CAMPAIGN TO TURN THE WAGNER ACT into a means of curbing unionism will find some few grains of comfort in the report of the President's Commission on Industrial Relations in Sweden, but only by taking them out of their context. Collective agreements in Sweden are enforcible in a Labor Court. Sweden has neither the closed shop nor the check-off, and its nation-wide organizations of employers and employees are now seeking agreement on plans to guarantee against interruption of essential services and to limit the secondary boycott. But the same groups are also negotiating a limitation on the employer's right to discharge. The evolution of labor relations in Sweden is not different in its general outlines from England's, nor is its origin much different from our own. Employer organizations, formed in 1896 to combat the growth of unionism, decided after the general strike of 1902 that industrial peace could best be furthered by collective bargaining. Today 65 per cent of all the employed in Sweden, except domestics, are unionized; the proportion in manufacturing is 90 per cent. Collective agreements are made on a national scale. Strikes and lockouts are forbidden during the term of an agreement, except sympathetic strikes to assist another lawful strike or lockout. Unions need not register, incorporate, or account for their funds. Compulsory arbitration, experimented with on a limited scale and in some industries, has since been abandoned. Strike-breakers are no longer used, and violence in strikes is consequently almost unknown. The Swedish survey, like the British, demonstrates how far we lag behind the other democratic countries in labor relations, and the two reports should help to allay some of our sharp growing pains.

*

IN AN ELOQUENT AND REALISTIC ARTICLE in the current issue of the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, Jonathan Daniels states with fresh insistence the old truth that the problem of the South cannot be solved until hunger in its simplest form is eliminated from the lives of the lowest stratum of Southern society. He emphasizes in particular the conditions of the rural South; the cotton pickers' strike called by the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in southeastern Arkansas shows once more how serious that condition is. "We urge all cotton pickers," reads the strike call, "union or non-union to sit down in their homes and wait until prices reach $1 per hundred before picking another boll." The call affects some 20,000 workers, whose cause is just to the point of pathos. Over a period of twenty years cotton-picking wages have been based more or less on the price of cotton, and that is all the strikers are asking for now. Today cotton is selling at around 8 cents a pound; the government subsidy raises it to 10, but cotton pickers have been getting from 40 to 85 cents a hundred pounds. The next news from Arkansas may be violence. The strikers sitting in their homes, if they can be called homes, have no savings either for eating or for carrying on their strike for a sub-decent wage. Meanwhile, in another Southern sector, the Pecan Workers' Local, in San Antonio, which won a strike early this year after six weeks of unbelievable terrorization and brutality by the local police, are trying to raise enough money to issue a pamphlet that might let the world know what is going

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on in San Antonio. They have what is said to be the lowest wage scale in the entire country—about $125 a year. They are utterly without civil protection and are jailed at the pleasure of Chief of Police Owen Kilday, brother of the man who defeated Maury Maverick in the Texas primaries. The North has taken millions out of the South. The least it can do is to send a little back to the rural and urban victims of exploitation in the form of contributions—and then insist upon a real solution for our Economic Problem No. 1. Contributions to either cause will gladly be handled by *The Nation.*

*

AMERICA'S FUTURE IS TRULY DISCOURAGING if it is to depend on the program outlined in the first issue of *America's Future,* a new monthly published by Frank Gannett and his National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government. In an editorial announcement which sounds like a patent-medicine advertisement, Mr. Gannett and his colleagues propose to "turn the tide from debt, depression, unemployment, and one-man rule toward real recovery with constitutional government, free enterprise, high production." These objectives are as safe as the old-time politician's stand for home, motherhood, and the flag, but the only means of reaching them which the committee seems to offer is abuse of President Roosevelt. Amos Pinchot contributes a long-winded open letter to John L. Lewis, with a sideswipe at Harry Bridges as a "protege of the Labor Department." Samuel B. Pettengill cites Thomas Jefferson, who apparently is as quotable as the Bible on either side of any issue, against the "purge." James Truslow Adams offers the expected answer to the question, "Is Capitalism Doomed?" The President's 1932 statements against centralization in government are rehashed and reprinted once more. But subversive influences are already at work on *America's Future.* Conrad H. Mann, head of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, contributes a short article on What the Wage-Earner Is Thinking, in which he says of his members, "They want a democratic government, but they don't want the kind of government that believes in letting things work out by themselves while hundreds of thousands starve. They are largely for the present Administration because they feel that at least it has made an effort to bring about a solution of problems which affect themselves and their families." Obviously Mr. Mann must be subsidized with M——w g——d.

*

JAMES OWEN MAHONEY'S DESIGN FOR A mural for the World's Fair which won a prize of $5,000 in a nation-wide competition is quite as bad as the five artists who protested against it said it was. Like Reginald Marsh, who found himself in a minority on a jury which made the award, we are "damned glad to hear about the complaints."

If Hitler Has His Way

PUBLICATION of Hitler's demands on Czechoslovakia confirms the general belief that Nazi Germany is not interested so much in "rescuing" the Sudeten Germans as in bringing the whole of Czechoslovakia within the German orbit. Much more than the actual Sudeten areas are demanded, and the Nazi mapmakers have contrived a scheme which would virtually cut Czechoslovakia into two parts, a greatly reduced Bohemia and Moravia in the west being connected with Slovakia and Ruthenia in the east by a narrow neck not more than fifteen miles in width. The country would be further weakened if the Nazis, as is expected, back Poland's and Hungary's claims to Czech territory. Should Prague be forced to accept Hitler's terms, Czechoslovakia would be reduced to little more than a German protectorate. Its richest industrial areas would be in German or Polish hands; the great fortifications of its "Maginot line" would be handed over to the Reich; and what remained of Czechoslovakia would be so closely ringed by Germany that it could have no independent economic existence.

A prostrate Czechoslovakia is clearly but a means to an end. It would remove the last barrier to Hitler's control of Central Europe, and would lay the basis for early demands for Memel, Danzig, Schleswig, South Tyrol, and other territories partially populated by Germans. It is doubtful whether the German-inhabited areas will receive as much attention as the rich agricultural sections of the Danube basin. The seizure of the Sudeten territory, like the Austrian conquest, would give Germany a large industrial population and thus aggravate the food problem. The Reich would also still face a grave shortage of oil, iron ore, copper, and other raw materials necessary for its armaments and industries. Capitulation of Czechoslovakia would presumably remove Hungary's last defenses against complete Nazi domination. The Chamberlain-Daladier plan for the partition of Czechoslovakia has already driven Poland toward the Nazi camp. Yugoslavia and Rumania have reaffirmed their loyalty to the Little Entente, but it is evident that they cannot long remain outside the German orbit if the Czechs are subjugated. In the past few years Yugoslavia has fallen increasingly under German economic influence, and it will be but a short step to political vassalage. Frightened by the fate of Austria, Rumania has fought hard during the past six months to throw off Nazi domination. Rumanian oil and wheat, however, are far too vital to the Reich for Hitler to allow Carol the luxury of an independent foreign policy after the Czechs have been crushed. The Danubian states will face a choice between extinction and German economic and political domination.

Realization of the full implications of a victory for

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Hitler has been a major factor in the stiffening of British and French public opinion this past week. Another has been Mussolini's incomparable sword-rattling, which has made it clear that he has no intention of yielding the position of Public Menace No. 1 to his upstart German rival. It may be assumed therefore that a Hitler victory would force Mussolini to seek a corresponding Fascist triumph. Already the Duce has espoused the cause of the Hungarians and Poles in Czechoslovakia. But he will have to go much farther if he is to offset both Austria and Czechoslovakia. He can hardly fail to redouble his efforts to obtain a prompt rebel victory in Spain even if it requires open intervention by the regular Italian army.

France's plight in the event of a Nazi triumph in Czechoslovakia has been indicated by Louis Fischer elsewhere in this issue. Great Britain's position would be little better. No one knows yet what concessions it may be willing to make for peace with Germany. For the moment the price may be a free hand in Central and Eastern Europe. Ultimately Nazi terms to Britain are likely to include not only the return of the pre-war colonies, but surrender of naval supremacy and acquiescence in further Nazi political aspirations.

But the gravest danger France and England will face if they surrender to Hitler's present demands does not lie in the Nazis' immediate territorial aspirations but in the encouragement given to fascist forces within their own boundaries. Fascism is a germ which thrives on the illusion of irresistible strength. If that illusion is fed by capitulation to Hitler's boldest and least justified demands, it may rapidly cause a pestilence of world-wide proportions.

Recapitulation

WITH Chamberlain's capitulation to Hitler, the vulture bred at Versailles really came home to roost. The monstrous bird that scared Britain and France not merely into betraying a friend but into handing over the key to their own defenses was hatched from an egg which only the naive expected to produce a dove. Yet although from the moment it pushed its ugly head out of the shell there was no doubt about its species, the rulers of the democracies insisted it could safely be allowed the run of the European barnyard.

In 1919 the great needs of Britain and France were a prolonged peace, relief from armaments, and a rapid development of international trade to make good the ravages of war and buttress stability with plenty. Instead they made a peace calculated to perpetuate fear and hate and put every possible obstacle in the way of economic revival. Only one result of Versailles offered real hope for the future. The League of Nations provided a means by which political readjustments might be made without resort to force, disarmament organized, and collective defenses built against aggression. Unhappily the League's first decade proved that its leading members would yield nothing to reason; its second, that they would yield everything to force.

The first surrender came in 1931 when Japan overran Manchuria. Conditions for a firm stand were peculiarly favorable. Apart from the importance of establishing the League's authority, the Western powers had every practical motive for preventing the domination of China. Moreover, with American cooperation for once assured, the risks were limited. Japan was highly susceptible to economic pressure, and a worldwide trade boycott would almost certainly have forced it to retreat. Yet under British and French leadership the League stultified itself with scolding resolutions and commissions of investigation whose findings were ignored. Aggression had received the all-clear signal.

In 1933 the Third Reich arose with the avowed purpose of achieving all the Kaiser's objectives and more. The British ruling classes deplored Hitler's ungentlemanly methods, but their chief emotion seems to have been relief at the erection of a new barrier against Bolshevism. Piece by piece he was permitted to tear up the Treaty of Versailles. No doubt a guilty conscience proved a brake on action, but it was a pity that conscience had not bestirred itself in Britain and France while Germany was still a democracy. Now acquiescence suggested once again that only ruthlessness won respect.

The lesson was not lost on Mussolini, preparing for a cheap imperial triumph. As his legions poured through the Red Sea during the summer of 1935, only vague mutterings were heard from Geneva. When the Ethiopian war started, the League for one moment seemed about to redeem itself. Alas, the brave words were only for public consumption; in secret, Britain and France sabotaged every effort to transform them into effective action. In the face of Mussolini's threats, sanctions were whittled down to measures designed to irritate but not in the least to deter.

Flushed with his double victory over Ethiopia and the League, the Duce joined forces with Hitler to foment rebellion in Spain. To most observers it seemed clear that the dictators were moved not merely by their hatred of democracy but still more by their desire to undermine the strategic positions of Britain and France. Leaving international decencies aside, it appeared that Britain's interest lay in lending every support to the Spanish government in order to defeat these aims. But upper-class consciousness prevailed over imperial necessity, and the farcical disguise of "non-intervention" was adopted to cover the fact that the "National" government was aiding and abetting the enemy.

The sweet fruits of apparently riskless aggression served to heighten Fascist appetites. Austria proved a

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simple bite, and then came the turn of the Czechs. But the proposed victim displayed a criminal tendency to resist, while the democracies showed signs of unwonted firmness. May 21 was a definite setback to Hitler: it gave the democracies one last chance to take the initiative. That was lost when Chamberlain again proved his capacity to wilt in the face of threats, and the surrender at Berchtesgaden was the result.

The latest news from England suggests that humiliation has brought enlightenment. The British people cannot escape blame for their refusal to face facts, but, it must be remembered, every effort has been made by their rulers to minimize the menace of Nazi Germany. Although Hitler published a guidebook to his ambitions, the public was encouraged to believe that so fantastic a production need not be taken seriously. Faced by the Nazis' openly declared warfare on democracy, Chamberlain and his colleagues explained soothingly that an ideological struggle was absurd—totalitarianism and democracy could exist peacefully side by side. Ignoring the fact that Czechoslovakia was the sole bulwark against German hegemony of Europe, they fostered the idea that Britain had no vital interest in its integrity.

In this tale of wilful blindness is there a moral for America? As the British were told that Czechoslovakia was no concern of theirs, so we hear that Europe is nothing to us. So too, perhaps, eighth-century France listened with indifference to the distant rumblings of the Moslem hordes. Yet the fanatical tide which flowed westward from Arabia was dammed only at Tours.

Checklist on Europe

ON THE preceding page we print a compact record of the events of the past twenty years that have brought Europe to the edge of a desperate and unnecessary struggle. For readers who wish to review the immediate background of the crisis in greater detail we list below some articles published in *The Nation* during the past year analyzing the major conflicts and maneuvers of the European powers. In most cases we can supply copies of the issues containing these articles.

1937

War—East and West, *an Editorial, September 18.*
British Labor in Retreat, *by Harold J. Laski, October 2.*
A Lesson for the Democracies, *by Louis Fischer, October 16.*
Nazi Eyes Turn East, *by Henry C. Wolfe, November 6.*
Russia and the World, *an Editorial, November 13.*
Hitler and Halifax, *by Robert Dell, December 18.*

1938

Can Hitler Be Bought? *by Robert Dell, January 8.*
Austria—Last Chapter, *by Ludwig Lore, February 26.*
Europe and America, *an Editorial, March 5.*
Chamberlain's Treason, *by Robert Dell, March 12.*
Europe Learns from Vienna, *by Robert Dell;* and Gangster Triumphant, *by Freda Kirchwey, March 19.*
Czechoslovakia Holds the Key, *by Henry B. Kranz, March 26.*
The Rise of Konrad Henlein, *by Ludwig Lore, April 9.*
How Sound Is Germany's Economy? *by A. Vidakovic and I. G. Rogin, April 16.*
Hitler Goes to Rome, *an Editorial, May 7.*
Prague Shows the Way, *an Editorial, May 28.*
The Czechs Stand Guard, *by M. W. Fodor, June 4.*
Escape from the Mousetrap, *by Anton Kuh, June 4, 11, 18.*
Can Prague Rely on Paris? *by Alexander Werth, June 25.*
Czech Patchwork, *by Frank C. Hanighen, July 23.*
Hitler's Proposals, *an Editorial, July 30.*
Czech Suicide, London's Solution, *by Robert Dell, August 20.*
Russia's Role in the European Crisis, *by Maxwell S. Stewart, August 27.*
Europe Mobilizes, *an Editorial, September 3.*
Hitler Will Decide, *by M. W. Fodor, September 10.*
Race Hate: a Sudeten Tradition, *by Arnold Hoellriegel;* and Dead End in Europe, *an Editorial, September 17*
Hitler Wants Skoda, *by Vladimir Pozner;* and The Great Betrayal, *an Editorial, September 24.*

In addition we want to recall two important earlier articles that analyzed Germany's state of preparedness: Will Europe Go to War? *by L. Lore, July 24 and 31, 1937.*

That New Party Line-up

THE hostility evoked by Mr. Roosevelt's reputed intention to create a liberal vs. conservative political line-up is easy to explain: in the past we have had two conservative major parties. The two-party system on which academic theorists have dwelt with so much pride has been a mechanism to give the voter the illusion of change without its inconveniences for our upper classes. Motion could be as furious as the participants chose to make it; now one party, now the other rose to supremacy. The sensation was exhilarating, but the contrivance itself remained as stationary as a seesaw.

Were one of our major parties to be transformed into a consistently progressive organization, we may be sure that the conservatives would be quick to organize a party of their own, to defend their interests. Under present conditions their needs are better served by the presence of a reactionary minority as a drag-anchor within the Democratic Party and by enough quasi-liberals in the Republican Party to keep it perfumed and presentable. Bourbon Senators from the South and reactionaries intrenched in the municipal machines of the North have enabled our economic overlords to hamstring the New Deal over and over again. On the other hand, the Bruce Bartons, in their cleverness, and the Landons, in their simplicity, have begun to repair the damage done the Republican Party by Mr. Hoover, who operated so

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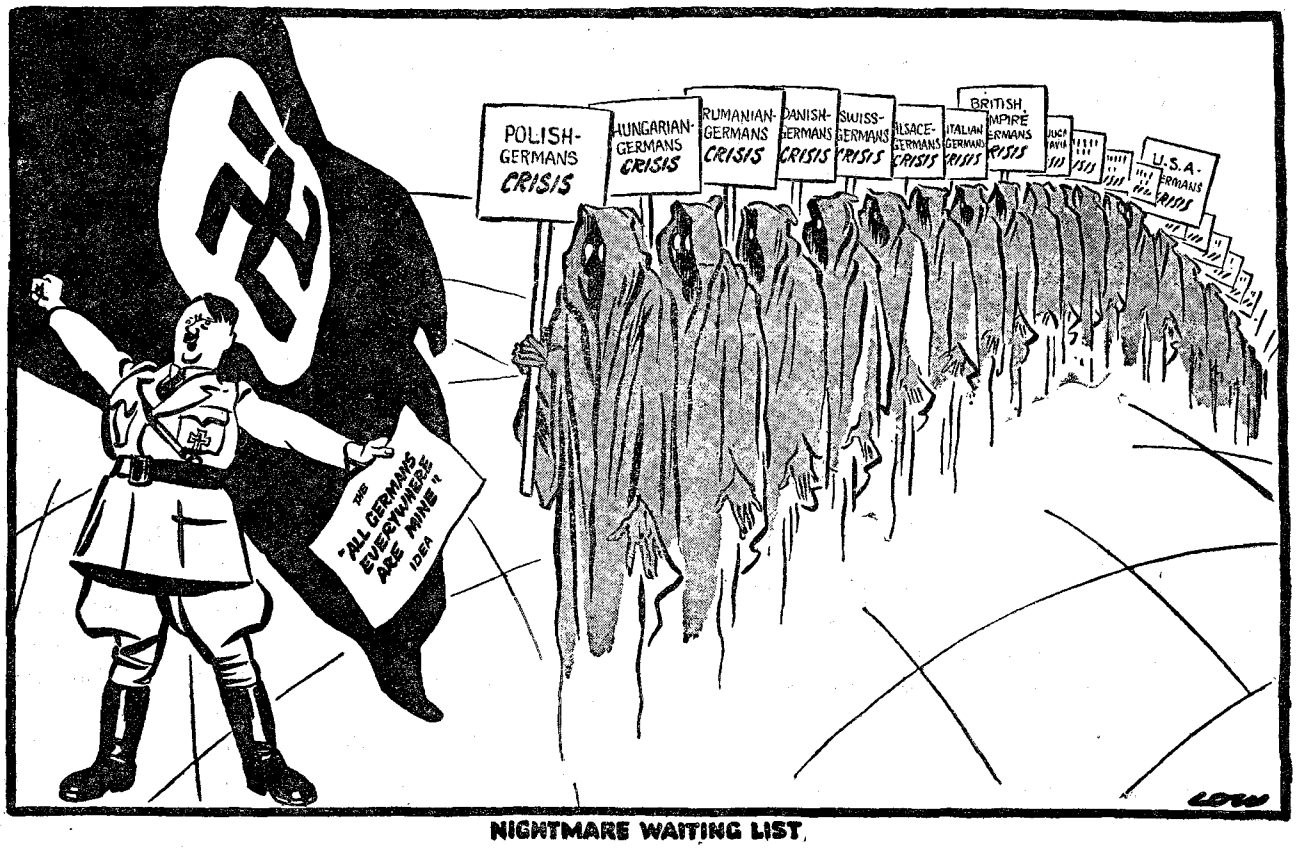
openly and obviously as to give the show away. The transformation of the Democratic into a liberal and the Republican into a conservative party would, of course, clarify political thinking and simplify the voting process. That is why the right objects to it.

In this as in almost every other aspect of the President's program the attempt is being made to represent his aims as contrary to the supposed "American way," a charge that will frighten no one with any historical perspective. The idea of constitutional government was disposed of as distinctly "un-French," an idea imported from alien and subversive England, in the days of Louis XVI, and the trick of fighting reform as "un-Ruritanian" is as least as old as middle-class nationalism. The historian Henry Steele Commager, in a recent issue of the New York *Times Sunday Magazine,* learnedly set out to prove that the idea of having each of our two parties stand for a distinct approach to national problems, one liberal, the other conservative, ran counter to our national tradition.

The fact is that our major parties have been alike as two peas in a pod in those periods when the ship of state ran so smoothly that the two parties could confine themselves to fighting over which should have the best berth in the captain's cabin. Such periods comprise the greater part of our history so far, but are unlikely to bulk so large in the future. In times of social and economic change the pressure of new needs and the ferment of new ideas have tended to make the professional politician and the major parties take up more or less definite attitudes on right or left, much as they dislike to be disturbed in the even pursuit of office. The Democratic Party under Jefferson, Jackson, Bryan, and Wilson, as under Franklin D. Roosevelt, has, for all its incongruous and contradictory elements, been made into an instrument of popular protest, much as was the Republican Party under Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. Franklin D. Roosevelt, for all his compromises and turnings, has been more conscious of his purposes and more consistent in his aims than any of these predecessors but Lincoln; and Lincoln, too, took a long time to make up his mind to the struggle for emancipation. In setting out to rid his party of those hostile to the New Deal, Mr. Roosevelt will be thoroughly justified in the light of history, and his success in molding the Democratic Party into a liberal party is essential if we are to deal clearly, efficiently, and swiftly with the problems that pile up about us. The ferment revealed in this year's primaries, the splits that have aligned some Republicans with reactionary Democrats and others with progressive Laborites, the mutually irreconcilable differences brought more sharply than ever to light in the Democratic Party, the left and right splits even in such smaller groupings as the Townsendites and the new La Follette Progressives, show that the country is ripe for a new alignment. If Roosevelt can bring that about, it will not rank as the least of his achievements.



NIGHTMARE WAITING LIST

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Interim Notes on the Crisis

BY JOHN GUNTHER

I HAVEN'T seen it pointed out yet that Hitler and Woodrow Wilson are from one point of view brothers under the skin. Hitler spends a great deal of time denouncing Wilsonism, and indeed his whole history is based on repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles. But Wilson invented the theory of self-determination as a political force, and surely the Nazi doctrine of race is nothing except self-determination carried to an extreme point. Wilson said that peoples with a common language, cultural heritage, and national history should be united. Hitler says the same thing. But he says it with guns, and Wilson said it merely with Robert Lansing.

This business of self-determination has its tricks and pitfalls. Logically and rationally if you believe in self-determination, and it is extremely difficult not to believe in it, you have to grant the Sudeten Germans have as much right to autonomy as the Czechoslovaks have to independence. Therefore Hitler's unconscionable behavior during the second Chamberlain visit has its usefulness. His brutal attempt to raise the ante proves one highly important fact now and once for all—namely, that he does not give three damns for the Sudeten Germans. He uses the convenient self-determination arguments as a pretext for something else.

For a time during the awful confusion of last weekend I was puzzled. Why, with the Sudeten Germans in his lap, did Hitler break the crisis open again? It is true that we have only very scanty information, and not many people can know the whole story, but surely it is clear by this time that Hitler did smash the business wide open because he thought, having got the promise of the Sudetens by one bluff, that he could get more by another. He must have known too that he was facing a certain risk that the second bluff—the raising of the ante—might not work. In other words, he was risking what he had always asserted to be his object, *and which he had obtained*—the promise of the incorporation of the Sudetens in the Reich—for something else.

That something else is of course power in Central Europe, power to expand beyond Central Europe, power to break the Franco-Soviet pact, power to isolate the Balkan states, power to rule Europe east of the Rhine. "The master of Bohemia," Bismarck once said, "is the master of the continent." This mastery is what Hitler wants. But let us not pay much attention hereafter when Mr. Hitler mentions "self-determination."

Another point, I think, has not been given nearly the attention it deserves. The Germans say unendingly that the Sudeten area, torn from Germany by the peace treaties, must be given back to Germany. This is pure fabrication. The Sudeten area was *never* part of Germany. It has never been German except in language. The Sudeten area was part of Austria-Hungary, not of Germany, and the frontier between Germany and Czechoslovakia on the north is one of the very few frontiers that the Versailles map-makers did *not* change. The boundary follows without alteration or divagation the historic line that always divided the kingdom of Bohemia from the German Reich. The Czechoslovaks got not one inch of German soil in the Sudeten region.

The jackals in Hungary and Poland are whining, but the whine is sour. Hungary lost far too much territory by Trianon—that is true—but the Hungarians have not a very pretty history in regard to their treatment of minorities. Hungary oppressed the Slovaks and Rumanians for generations. At the moment, with a total population of only 8,800,000, it contains at least 150,000 Yugoslavs and Slovaks and probably 600,000 Germans. We haven't heard Hitler moaning for *these* Germans.

As to Poland, it has the worst minority record in Europe. At the most modest estimate, 8,000,000 people among Poland's total of 33,000,000 are not Poles. There are about 3,500,000 Ukrainians, 2,000,000 Jews, 1,000,000 Germans, and 1,000,000 White Russians in Poland, to say nothing of smaller groups. The anti-Semitism of the Poles is, next to that of Germany, the worst in Europe, and Ukrainian nationalism has been ruthlessly stamped out. There are only about 90,000 Poles in Czechoslovakia. They have been infinitely better treated than minorities in Poland.

Two or three years ago we heard sometimes an ominous little wisecrack about the Poles. "The nearer Poland gets to the Third Reich, the nearer it gets to the Fourth Partition."

Strict application of the doctrine of self-determination would seem to give justification to the Hungarian and Polish case. But unfortunately no frontier can ever be drawn in Central Europe without leaving some minorities on the wrong side of the border. It is geographically impossible to give self-determination to such isolated enclaves of people as the Germans, for instance, in Rumania, without disrupting the state. The question of ultimate justice has to be considered. You cannot grant

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all minority demands in Czechoslovakia without so weakening the Czechoslovak state that it must cease to exist. After all, from the self-determination point of view some ten million Czechoslovaks have as much right to nationhood as a fractional minority of Poles—to put it mildly.

If the matter had been brought up differently, I think the Czechoslovaks would have given up some territory without too ill grace. But now Hitler by insufferable insolence and smash-and-grab-ism has made it almost impossible for them to recede.

Let the Czechs Stand Firm!

BY LOUIS FISCHER

Paris, September 26

THE partitioning of Czechoslovakia and the subsequent domination of its amputated parts and rump by Nazi Germany would convert France into a second Portugal. Paris would lose its Central and Eastern European allies and the Franco-Soviet pact would be invalidated by the new geography as well as by its worthlessness to Moscow. Germany would then be free to reach down toward the Dardanelles or to face France without the Kaiser's disadvantage of having to fight on two fronts. France's weakening means the weakening of the Anglo-French combination. Germany would exercise hegemony on the continent, and Italy would have a better chance to achieve it in the Mediterranean. Hence Mussolini's passionate support of Hitler in the entire crisis.

All this and no less is involved. There has never been a question of the rights of the Sudeten Germans or of Hitler's burning love for them. When Schuschnigg proclaimed the Austrian plebiscite, Hitler marched on Vienna; Mussolini, who has been loudly preaching in favor of self-determination for Czechoslovakia's racial minorities, has never offered the same privileges to the Tyrolese Germans nor has Hitler ever asked it; both dictators conspired to nullify the decisive Popular Front victory in the plebiscite of February, 1936, in Spain. Wilsonian self-determination has become the reactionary weapon of fascist expansionists.

Unfortunately, however, Goebbels's astute propaganda, coupled with bad Czech propaganda, has allowed population percentages and local ethnic grievances to obscure the true intentions of Nazi imperialism. A dawning appreciation of this fact is one of the differences between the Berchtesgaden and Godesberg visits. Devoid of violent prejudices against the Nazis, Chamberlain presumably accepted at face value Hitler's idealistic avowals regarding the Sudetens. In any case he considered the Sudetenland unworthy of a European war. The large-scale German maneuvers and the feverish construction of fortifications created an impression that Germany might be planning to attack France. Daladier took precautionary military measures, and so did Chamberlain; but when in the Nürnberg speech and at Berchtesgaden Hitler announced that his only concern was Bohemia, Paris and London heaved two sighs of relief, and Daladier begged Chamberlain to reply, "Take it." This should have sufficed Hitler as a penetrating wedge to split and cripple Czechoslovakia, but totalitarian regimes apparently crave totalitarian solutions, and with the Western powers in disgraceful flight Hitler felt he could achieve immediately his ultimate object. Summoning Imredy, the Hungarian Premier, and Lipsky, the Polish Ambassador, Hitler instructed them forthwith to present their claims to chunks of Czechoslovakia. Some British and French statesmen thereupon belatedly perceived the imperialist design beneath the idealistic cloak.

The democracies are incapable of the determination necessary for a preventive war even when the cost is small. The greatest asset of the fascist powers is their apparent readiness to wage war. The moment they threaten to march, England and France hurriedly inquire how much of other nations' territory will placate them. Chamberlain was as ready to sign away Spain as he was to sacrifice the Sudetenland. The cession of a part of Bohemia appeared to offer the prospect of a period of peace. That was warrant enough for scuttling Benes, but the addition of the Hungarian and Polish pretensions clearly shortened the expected peaceful interval and lengthened the alarming Italian-German shadow over Europe. French and British public opinion began to harden toward the acceptance of an inevitable conflict and the feeling that "if it has to come, it might as well come now." Had Hitler sugar-coated the pill and avoided the impression of undue haste, France and England would gladly have settled down into passivity, but his crudeness and the speed of events have humiliated and frightened many Frenchmen. Moreover, what Hitler demands—that Czech fortifications be turned over to him intact and that the Skoda works be similarly surrendered—is fantastic and exceeds every expectation.

Something else of great significance occurred between Berchtesgaden and Godesberg. During all these weeks, after every major event in Downing Street Ambassador Kennedy rang the bell of Number 10 and received a report. Although nobody doubted that the United States

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would keep out of at least the first phase of a European war, Washington was informed of every move, while the Soviet Union, whose troops and arms could succor Czechoslovakia before effective British and French aid could arrive, was never informed or consulted. Had the British government had any intention of saving Czechoslovakia, it should have impressed Hitler with the likelihood of Soviet intervention. The French ought to have taken a similar line, but "there is good reason to believe," as the Paris correspondent of the London *Times* stated, that Bonnet told the French Cabinet and the British government that Russia would not participate. This report was deliberately circulated in order to strengthen the case for surrender to Hitler. The Russians have always said that they would help Czechoslovakia if France did first. This attitude is not to be explained as a pedantic desire to carry out the letter of the Soviet-Czech treaty; the fact is that if France remained aloof the Russians, while they could and probably would fly airplanes to Czechoslovakia, could not send other arms or men through Poland and Rumania. These two countries have initiated at Warsaw an understanding to prevent the passage of the Red Army. If France aided the Czechs, this ban would automatically be lifted at least by Rumania. On September 21 Litvinov addressed the League and said that Moscow had proposed Soviet-Franco-Czech military conversations. This caused three members of the Daladier Cabinet to offer their resignations on the ground that they had been deceived regarding the Kremlin's plans. Then on the early morning of the twenty-third Moscow warned Poland to keep its hands off Czechoslovakia if it wished to avoid Russian retaliation. The same afternoon in Geneva, Lord de la Warr, the first British delegate to the League, and R. A. Butler, British Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, sought an interview with Litvinov, who reiterated Russia's offer to assist Czechoslovakia and also probably urged a joint Anglo-French-Russian démarche to Berlin. That was the first direct contact on the Czechoslovakian crisis between the British and Soviet governments. At almost the same hour the French and British ministers in Prague intimated that it might be advisable to reoccupy military positions in Sudetenland. The Czechs immediately ordered a general mobilization.

Many changes also occurred within Czechoslovakia between the Berchtesgaden and Godesberg meetings. The Czech government temporarily kept secret its submission and foreign dailies carrying this news were confiscated. But inevitably the fact became known. The first public reaction was depression; during this phase the reactionary Agrarian Party planned a coup d'état which presumably would have ended with a fascist regime and a *modus vivendi* with the Nazis. But the mass mood quickly turned to bitterness and then violent indignation and active protest, which took the form of political strikes, workers' marches toward Prague, and demonstrations before the government buildings. The flood engulfed Hodza and even rose toward the Olympian heights where Benes dwells. The new Sirovy Cabinet is in fact, if not in personnel, a popular front, extending from the extreme right to the Communists.

I believe the immediate future depends more on this Cabinet than on any other factor. If the Czechs refuse to yield and even repudiate their earlier acceptance of the Berchtesgaden terms, the positions of those in Paris and London who urge firmness will be strengthened and the mood of surrender to the fascist threats and bluff may pass. It is conceivable that Hitler may desist if London, Paris, Moscow, and Prague band together. At this very late stage of the superbly directed game of intimidating big and small democracies, it will of course be difficult for the Führer to unwind and remain within his frontier, yet this effect was achieved on May 21 by the Czech mobilization, and the abhorrence of war is undoubtedly as widespread in Germany as in France and England.

The effect of the second Czech mobilization on Hitler's mind depends on whether Berchtesgaden and Godesberg taught him respect or contempt for the British and French and also on Hitler's and Ribbentrop's estimates of the opposition forces of London and Paris. Imperialism is in a recessive era. The British, with a broader outlook and greater material resources, are still better imperialists than the French, and in this crisis, which concerns the French more, the British have stood their ground more stoutly than the French; but Chamberlain is a relatively bad imperialist and Bonnet is likewise. Pitt would not have tolerated the Italian-German intrenchment in Spain, nor would Clemenceau have made a present of Central Europe to Germany, already bloated by the absorption of Austria. Eden, Churchill, Mandel, and Reynaud are the last of the imperialist Mohicans, and these squires, who look beyond national frontiers, find themselves strangely leagued with the anti-fascists, who see the collapse of civil rights, labor's privileges, and the remnants of international morality in the wake of the desertion of Czechoslovakia. But just as in Spain Chamberlain's and Bonnet's vestigial imperialism was counteracted by their anti-left prejudices, so their faint wavering desire to save Czechoslovakia is frustrated by the realization that this can be best achieved through the introduction of the Soviet armies into Central Europe —an event with vast social implications. The choice for a bad imperialist is a difficult one, and the ideological sacrifices required of a good imperialist constitute a severe ordeal. Hitler plays on these delicate chords. The German air waves and press are full of such phrases as "ridiculous Bolshevik Benes," "Czech atrocities worthy of Bolshevik Spain." The next decisive week therefore will be filled with lunges toward firmness and relapses into vacillation.

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Missouri Misery

BY JANE WHITBREAD

ANNE MOREL, only forty-four years old but worn and stooped from years of working in the earth, straightened her bent back, leaned on her pick, and told of the bitter struggle for existence she had waged all her married life in the tiff mines of Washington County, Missouri. Her story was that of a thousand families in the region whose lives are spent in grappling with the earth and compelling it to yield the tiff on which their survival depends.

Tiff is the name given by the miners who settled southeastern Missouri at the end of the eighteenth century to the soft, heavy, pure white rock which runs in an unpredictable manner through the red clay of the region. Known technically as barite, it is used extensively as a pigment for paint, in capping oil wells, and as a filler in linoleum, window shades, and other materials.

Mrs. Morel was not very sure what was done with the rock she digs so persistently summer and winter. Her one interest is in supplying enough fried dough, coffee, and sow-belly to feed her husband, a semi-invalid war veteran, and the six of her twelve children who are still alive. I ask her if it tires her—lifting the soil and the heavy white rock. "Yes," she sighs; she's tired. She is tired to death; she has a prominent goiter; and she is nursing a child. Twelve-year-old Jimmie, the oldest of the three boys, who is working in the "diggings" with her, has had no breakfast today. There would be nothing in the house for dinner had she not been able to borrow a dollar from a fellow-miner who needed it almost as badly as she. Anne and her three boys—six, ten, and twelve—dig and scrape and haul and clean the tiff from early in the morning to late at night—in the winter "emptying out snow and water and digging down, down, to get something to eat." The two older boys have headaches all the time. The younger one couldn't say whether he did or not; he "can't talk plain." The baby has tumors in its mouth. There is no money for a doctor or for an operation.

Digging in holes approximately four feet across and from four to thirty feet deep, the Morel family had gathered enough tiff in the last few days to net them a total of $1.20. The pigment companies pay $5 a ton for raw tiff delivered to the mill. A week can easily be spent in digging holes which yield nothing. There is no way of knowing where the tiff lies. There is no way of living except by digging tiff and delivering it to the mill. At $5 a ton the miners estimate that they average $5 per week per family throughout the year. Families of ten and twelve children are not unusual. The French Catholic mothers could not afford birth control if they wanted it.

Unbalanced and inadequate diet, poor housing, and complete lack of sanitary facilities make disease a very real problem in the tiff-mining region. Families of six, eight, and ten are crowded into one- or two-room shacks without beds or windows. The shacks are made from green boards full of knot holes, and as the wood dries large spaces are left between the boards where wind, rain, and insect pests find easy entrance. Privies are almost unknown. In some settlements one pump supplies water for 100 families.

In one new shack, eleven by eighteen feet, I found seven people housed—a man and wife, four children, and the husband's invalid mother. The baby had pink eye. The little boy had a goiter, which was being treated by the simple remedy of a string tied around his neck. Someone had told his mother that would help it, but the little boy knew better. He said, "It don't get better. The string jist gets tighter, but Maw won't let me have it off." For this child, for the baby, for the ailing old lady, no help comes—no doctor, no welfare agent. Three counties in southern Missouri are assigned to one nurse. She rarely reaches the tiff miners.

When J. Porter's wife caught fire while she was cooking their scant meal over the only stove they had, an improvised outdoor fireplace, he and the other children did the best they could to put out the flames. But Mrs. Porter was badly burned. Porter, a diabetic, walked six miles to the village to get the doctor. The doctor owns the property on which they live. Fifteen dollars was his price to make the trip. Mr. Porter had no money. Mrs. Porter's burns were not dressed. When I saw her she was lying on a broken-down bed, a child big enough to walk tugging at her breasts. Her husband was cooking lunch for the five children—four slivers of sow-belly, a few fried potatoes, and fried dough. Porter has no more money for insulin; so he struggles along, working as much as he can. He does not know he cannot live without it.

The ten members of the Meilly family are fortunate enough to have two rooms in an old barn. The youngest child is about eighteen months old. The oldest is twenty-one years. One bed is all the family can afford, all they have room for. The whole family is sickly, the mother said. The baby apparently does not hear. Mrs. Meilly took it to the doctor and was told it had an ear abcess. She understands the importance of keeping the dressing

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clean, but any kind of cleanliness is almost impossible in the place where they live. The best worker in the family, a sixteen-year-old boy, had been "too sick to move" for the past two weeks. He said he didn't feel well enough to go to the doctor even if someone would take him. No one knew what was the matter. No one was treating him. He was feverish. His eyes were red. He had "coughed some all winter," his mother said.

Less than two hours by car from St. Louis, the tiff miners are so isolated by poverty and ignorance that they scarcely seem inhabitants of a civilized country. The public-school system, public-health measures, private social-welfare agencies, these have not touched Washington County. The only link the miners have with civilization seems to be the radios bought by one or two families on the instalment plan. Like so many others of the underprivileged, these people often sink their last pennies in what seems a pure extravagance. Perhaps partial satisfaction of spiritual hunger soothes the pain of real physical want.

To young workers who are critical of the conditions of their lives, the complete absence of opportunity for bettering their lot is even more discouraging than the tremendous amount of eye and intestinal disease and the lack of medical care, more frightening than the threat of starvation that is never stilled in Washington County. Children begin to work with their parents in the "diggings" when they are six or seven years old. Boys and girls fifteen and older who have never been to school, who do not even know their age, are not uncommon. The parents in most cases realize that their children's fate will be a repetition of their own unless they get schooling, but those who control the mines know the value of an illiterate working force. Again and again in this part of Missouri I have heard employers say: "Give 'em education and they'll want something better." I was told that five years ago the school superintendent in Potosi, the county seat, started to enforce the school-attendance law, but was warned that if he tried too hard they would find a new officer. So truancy goes unchecked. The superintendent estimated that the school attendance fell off at least 50 per cent from the fall registration during 1937, and state reports showed about one-third of the children of school age actually attending. Some children have too far to walk. Some are too hungry. Some have no clothes. But most of them have to help with the digging.

Things couldn't be much worse, and the miners think things will be better. Ardent Catholics that they are, many of them have taken down the religious pictures behind the candles in their cheerless shacks and put up pictures of Roosevelt. And here and there in the backwoods are men who have heard a rumor from the outside world. They lean on their rickety windlasses, take careful aim before they spit, and tell you with no doubt in their voices: "They say a man named Lewis is coming down this way. When he comes everything will be all right."

It's War in Palestine

BY ALBERT VITON

Jerusalem, September 4

THE war now going on in Palestine is one of the most interesting phenomena of the post-Versailles world. It is a real war: the British representative at the last session of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations said so. From the beginning of July to the end of August about 1,200 men and women were killed or wounded by knife, bullet, or bomb—an average of almost twenty casualties per day in a population of less than 1,400,000. And this figure is without doubt an underestimate, since the Arabs try to hide their dead and wounded whenever possible. During the same period hundreds of Arab houses were blown up by the military, and probably as many as two dozen Arabs were hanged by their necks at Acre jail. The terrorists, or rebels—the name does not matter—carried out dozens of attacks on military and police patrols, on Jewish villages, and on road transportation, executed between two and three score of Arab "traitors," raided the Royal Mail for money and police stations for arms, cut down hundreds of miles of telephone wire and caused many a railway accident, planted dozens of land mines, and engaged troops and police on an average of more than twice a day. Not only have the 7,000 to 8,000 British soldiers now in the country been kept fully occupied, but at least 20,000 more soldiers, it is no exaggeration to say, are needed.

Palestine today resembles very little the Palestine I knew in 1935 and 1936. In the spring of 1936 another American and I made a walking trip through the country; today one is not safe indoors in the capital. The streets of Jerusalem are certainly not safe. Any moment a revolver may bark or a bomb explode. A few weeks ago a bomb rolled past me on Jerusalem's busiest thoroughfare. Although dozens of armored cars are patrolling the city and police and soldiers are everywhere, people

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who never expected to carry a gun now have revolvers protruding from their pockets when they go out. Of all the students in the advanced class in colloquial Arabic at the Jerusalem Y. M. C. A., I am the only one who comes without a pistol.

Outside the capital the country resembles a battlefield without definite fronts. Any hill or valley may become a bitterly contested no man's land. At least three dozen terrorist bands, of 80 to 150 men each, are roaming through the country, and no one knows where the next attack will be launched. Starting as small unorganized groups of peasant partisans, they have gradually drawn together and are now operating under a unified command, with a nucleus of experienced fighters who wear khaki uniforms and are known as *mustahajedin,* or holy warriors. The whole Arab countryside, and most of the cities as well, is now in their hands, and the legitimate government has lost all contact with the inhabitants except that established during periodic exchanges of bullets. These bands collect taxes from peasant and city worker, levy fines on villages which displease them, impose the curfew in areas of operations, and hold courts to try traitors. A hospital service which they have organized is equipped from government stores; orders issued from their headquarters in the mountains are written on Arabic typewriters taken from government offices; their official stationery carries at the top the legend, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate." Although they lose anywhere from two to fifty men in each engagement with government troops, their numbers, far from decreasing, are actually increasing, and their organization and equipment have vastly improved.

The only section of the population on which the government can still rely, aside from the Christian Arabs, who are too few to count, are the 400,000 Jews. The whole Moslem Arab population sympathizes with the 10,000 men who are fighting the British administration, and helps them. I know too many Arab villagers and still speak to too many of them to believe the stories about an impending revolt of the villages against the oppressive rebels. They may make the required financial contributions with varying degrees of alacrity, but the overwhelming majority are loyal to the revolt and are proud of it. Public opinion, their own nationalist feelings, and, in some cases, threats from terrorists have forced even the Arabs in the Palestine administration to throw in their lot with the rebels and become disloyal to the government they are ostensibly serving. The Arab police give information to the terrorists and notify them of impending searches; the Arab section of the Intelligence Department has gone to pieces—or has been shot to pieces with rebel bullets; Arab judges were not a little relieved when military courts took over the task of trying rebels; *mukhtars* (village headsmen) have ceased to perform their duties or resigned; even scavengers and gardeners in military camps and government offices have become spies.

Were it not for the Jews, the whole of Palestine would long since have been in the hands of the rebels. The Jews have put up an amazingly good resistance. They have shown more military ability, more courage, and more self-sacrifice than most persons expected even from a community noted for heroism and self-sacrifice. Thousands of young men have enrolled in the self-defense organization; and though the government gives them but poor arms, they are doing an invaluable service at infinite personal risk. Jewish agricultural settlements look like fortified towns: barbed-wire fences encircle them; a twenty-four-hour watch is maintained; workers venturing outside the inclosure carry arms and are accompanied by guards. Not a single settlement has been abandoned in all these twenty-eight months of ceaseless attacks, and even agricultural work in outlying fields has been carried on. When workers fall on what has become known as "the work front," others automatically take their places —and the work goes on. At night powerful projectors sweep the horizon, and an excellent system of signals keeps all the Jewish settlements in communication.

The British military authorities have a very high opinion of the Jewish soldiers, especially of those in the agricultural settlements. Only a few days ago a high Royal Air Force officer told me that one Jew could take on three Arabs any day, and this is the general opinion of the military. Besides keeping the country's communications open, these young men are safeguarding millions of dollars' worth of property. If one hears now less often of attacks on the Iraq Petroleum Company's pipe-line, which carries Mosul oil to Haifa, it is because Jews are guarding it. They are cooperating with the British military forces, which, in contrast to the civil authorities, appreciate their fine work. It is significant that as many as twenty-seven new settlements have been established since the disturbances began, some of them in exposed strategic positions. Exact figures are not available, but there are probably no fewer than 10,000 special armed Jewish watchmen and supernumerary policemen, and the Jews are asking for many more rifles.

What began as an anti-Zionist movement has become a revolt against Great Britain of unprecedented magnitude. Palestine is only the present battlefield; headquarters are in Damascus, and rebels are also active in Bagdad, Cairo, Mosul, and in dozens of smaller cities and towns. Fanatical Jabel ed-Druze in Syria and the Shia centers of Iraq, where the flame of Islam still burns with an intensity not found anywhere else, have of late become important recruiting grounds. Until recently about 85 per cent of the fighters in the mountains were Palestinian Arabs, but the last two or three weeks have seen an influx of volunteers from outside. A *jehad*—holy war

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—against the British Empire has been proclaimed by the Shia divines of Iraq.

The revolt aims at more than saving Palestine for the Arabs. It aims to defeat the British imperial scheme for the Near East which took shape when the Ottoman Empire was smashed during the World War. During the nineteenth century Turkey had performed for Britain the role of the dog at the haystack, preventing other states from establishing themselves in the Near East and thus endangering imperial communications with India. After the war British imperialists decided to substitute the Arabs for Turkey. The claims of the natives could always be urged before the world's conscience, while the Arab states would be dominated by London through protectorates, special treaties, or mandates. By setting up numerous states instead of one large Arab empire, Britain would keep them weak and impotent.

But hardly had the guns ceased thundering on the battlefields of France when the Arabs made it amply clear that the day of such convenient imperialism was past. Promises of independence and self-determination had been made to them during the war; the current declarations about the rights of subjugated peoples reached them. The seeds thus sown took root, and the plant grew much more rapidly than anyone had anticipated. When the Arabs perceived that they had been tricked, they rose in rebellion. Egypt flared up; hundreds of British soldiers were killed in Iraq. It took half a billion dollars from the British Exchequer to quell the revolt. In Palestine also riots had to be put down, and in Syria the Arab kingdom set up at a congress of Syro-Palestinian notables was blown out with heavy artillery.

Confronted with so much unexpected opposition, Britain decided on a compromise. Arab nationalism being a fact and the Near East being vital in any scheme of imperial communications, the Arab states were given a degree of independence. Although they had to surrender many sovereign rights, the Arabs accepted the compromise. For one thing, they hoped to revise the treaties at the first convenient opportunity; for another, they needed the might of the British Empire to protect them against other imperialisms, which they rightly considered a greater evil.

What the Arabs are now trying to do is to make Britain dependent upon them instead of vice versa. They do not want to kick Britain out of the Near East, but they are unwilling to remain longer in the position of an impoverished hanger-on; and while anxious to benefit from the alliance with Britain in foreign affairs, they hope to prevent Britain from meddling in internal matters. During the Italo-Ethiopian conflict and the tension with Britain that followed, the Arabs saw that London was more dependent upon them than it cared to admit. Not only did the British need the Near East for military airdromes and for naval and military bases, but the native military organizations had become important links in the chain of British defenses. Britain showed too much anxiety to organize a strong Egyptian fighting machine after it had kept the Egyptian army impotent for half a century; it showed too much interest in getting the Iraqi Parliament to approve larger military budgets than ever before. The Arabs now want to use Britain for retaining their independence instead of being exploited by London for imperialist ends.

Thus Palestine has become the battlefield of two powerful forces. "Besides establishing that Palestine is an Arab country and part of *dar al-Islam* (the territory of Islam), the struggle going on there will decide the political fate of Arabs who live right here in Bagdad," an Iraqi politician, now a member of the Cabinet, told me when I was in Bagdad last year. Enthusiasm for the rebellion in Palestine then ran high in Iraq. Government officials made substantial contributions from their salaries, and wealthy Iraq merchants donated large sums. Now, with the continuance of the struggle and its intensification, the enthusiasm has become white hot. It is the same in Syria. All the Arabs make Palestine the spearhead of their revolt against European imperialism; and there can be no doubt that the struggle has served to cement the Near East in a united anti-British front and vastly advanced the cause of pan-Arabism.

If the rebellion has developed to a point where eight or nine British battalions aided by about 4,000 policemen and twice or three times as many men of other forces can only inflict casualties without making any real headway against it, the explanation lies only partly in the strength of the Arabs. Germany and Italy have perhaps helped with money and ammunition, but their aid has not been of decisive importance. The real causes of the Arab success are to be found right here. The rebellion could have been stopped fairly easily in its early stages, for then the Arabs themselves did not realize their potential strength. It could have been crushed with the available forces in the autumn of 1936, when it had developed, in the words of the chief of staff, into a "sub-war." Since then it has developed into a full-fledged war, requiring for effective suppression at least two divisions of the British army; and blame for its progress must be laid at the doors of the British officials here. Various motives, in which anti-Zionism and even anti-Semitism figured prominently, moved the local British officials not only to sabotage all efforts to crush the revolt but even to aid it. They allowed the government machine to fall to pieces; they watched with benevolent neutrality while the rebels, by a process of natural evolution, perfected their organization and advanced from one victory to another, and did not recoil even when control of the country passed from their hands. Instead of offering serious opposition, they cleared the way for the rebels.

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Consequently there will be much more bloodshed in Palestine; consequently, also, the country's political future is very uncertain. Although recognition of the blunders committed has forced Britain to change the administration, the situation has deteriorated too far to make pacification easy. The present heads of the government are anxious to crush the revolt, but they cannot. At least 20,000 more soldiers will have to be brought in before the work of pacification—which means nothing less than reconquest of the whole country—can begin in earnest. Thousands of Arabs will have to be killed in battle, unless, of course, Britain should decide to submit and grant the Arab demands. Without acknowledging defeat in so many words, though the meaning would be obvious to everyone, it might throw Zionism overboard in the face of overwhelming Arab pressure. But it is not likely to follow this course, for Zionism is a power in the world not to be disregarded, and the conscience of the world would be outraged by such a betrayal. Moreover, Britain now understands the full implications of the revolt; surrender would mean abdication from control of the Near East. More than ever Britain now needs the Zionists: they are the one rock in the Near East on which it can build without fear of the morrow.

Informed opinion here is unanimous in believing that the Partition Commission, set up to produce a detailed scheme of partition, will be unable to submit one which will stand any chance of being accepted by either Zionists or Arabs. The Arabs, for pan-Arab reasons, will not consent to any partition, however little it gives to the Jews. The Zionists are not likely to agree to anything less than what the Royal Commission gave them. But the chance that the Partition Commission will include Galilee in the Jewish state is becoming less with every day that passes; the Arabs have shown too much opposition. Nor is Britain likely to enforce at the point of the bayonet a scheme accepted by neither Arabs nor Zionists.

It is difficult to see what solution Britain can devise. Perhaps the problem is insoluble in the immediate future. Possibly the best solution is to keep the country under military rule for a few years and to open the doors for immigration till the Jews become half of the population —in other words, make Palestine a bi-national state. Certainly it would be a tremendous crime to leave the Jews as a minority here. One must look the truth squarely in the face: the fact is that today the two peoples cannot live together. Hatred has grown too rapidly during the last few years. Only numerical equality can make Jewish life and property secure in Palestine. I believe that this solution is practical. If Britain would announce in so many words that its aim was to make Palestine a bi-national state in which neither community would dominate the other, even the Arabs might make peace. But the chance that Britain will embrace so clear-cut a scheme is very small.

The Meek Inherit the Earth

By GEORGE S. KAUFMAN

THE Meek were going quietly about their work one day, emptying garbage pails and cleaning spittoons, when a telegram arrived, collect:

BEG TO ADVISE ACCORDANCE WITH TERMS LAST TESTAMENT CREATOR JUST ADMITTED PROBATE YOU HAVE INHERITED THE EARTH HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS OUR LONG EXPERIENCE INHERITANCE CASES PUTS US UNIQUE POSITION SERVE YOU STRONGLY ADVISE COMMUNICATE IMMEDIATELY.

CHETBOURNE VAN CORTLANDT CHETBOURNE
ATTYS LAW 120 BROADWAY NEW YORK

A few days later the Meek duly assembled in the outer office of Chetbourne, Van Cortlandt, and Chetbourne, having walked up sixteen flights of stairs because the elevators were crowded. The young lady at the switchboard regarded them rather haughtily.

"Yes?" she inquired.

"We—we'd like to see a member of the firm," was the reply, "but—but we can come some other time if it isn't convenient."

"What do you want to see 'em about?" asked the young lady.

"Well, it's—it's nothing important, but—we got a telegram from them."

The young lady took the telegram into the inner office, and was back again in no time with quite a different manner. "Mr. Chetbourne, Senior, will see you in about an hour," she said. "Wait out in the hall."

Promptly in an hour and a half Mr. Chetbourne swung wide the door of his office and invited them all in. Mr. Van Cortlandt was also present, and so was the other Mr. Chetbourne. Mr. Chetbourne, Senior, took charge, bade everybody welcome, and even asked them if they'd have a drink. Nobody took one—except Mr. Van Cortlandt and the two Mr. Chetbournes.

"Now," said Mr. Chetbourne, "to begin." He picked up a pile of important-looking papers. "Under the terms of the Lord's will, you and your assigns are named as sole heirs and beneficiaries. Under these terms, and with certain exceptions to be noted hereafter, you—ah" —Mr. Chetbourne consulted the documents—"you have inherited the earth. It's quite a tidy inheritance."

One of the Meek coughed diffidently. "Would you—would you mind telling us just what the exceptions are?"

"Of course if you'd rather not—" said another.

"No trouble at all," said Mr. Chetbourne. "The exceptions are Germany, Italy, and Japan. Although the will is of divine origin, we are informed that it will not

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be recognized in those countries. The same applies to all territory that they hope to control in the future."

"That—that takes in a good deal of ground," said the Meek.

"It includes Europe, Asia, South America, and part of Africa," replied Mr. Chetbourne, "but there is still a lot left. Legally, of course, the whole thing is yours, and you can fight if you want to."

"It's all so unexpected," said the Meek. "We've got more than we know what to do with, anyhow."

"Then that's settled," said Mr. Chetbourne. "Now, we have had no official word yet from England, but our London representatives inform us that Great Britain will almost certainly attempt to break the will. In that event Canada, the high seas, and the remainder of Africa will be thrown into litigation."

"Maybe we'd better just let them have it," said the Meek.

"On the contrary," replied Mr. Chetbourne, "I think you would have a very good chance of winning the case. After all, it is the Lord's will."

"Well, whatever you think best," said the Meek.

"Then, as your lawyers, we strongly advise fighting. That brings us to the question of counsel fees."

"How much will they be?" asked the Meek.

"It is customary to agree upon a small percentage of the inheritance," said Mr. Chetbourne. "Let us say the Eastern seaboard, running as far west as the Mississippi."

"Yes, sir," replied the Meek.

"Now," said Mr. Chetbourne, shifting his papers, "there is the matter of inheritance taxes. I think that the Middle West and Northwest would about cover those—let us say from the Canadian border to somewhere in the state of Arizona."

"Yes, sir," said the Meek again.

"And I have here a bill for back income taxes which seem to have been overlooked by the previous owner. However, those will be amply taken care of by the territory in the Southwest, extending northward to somewhere in the state of Arizona."

The Meek shifted a little in their chairs. "Could we trouble you for a glass of water?" they asked.

"We are nearly through," said Mr. Chetbourne. "You can get it at the public fountain downstairs. Now, where were we? Oh, yes. That leaves you—ah"—Mr. Chetbourne looked at a map spread out before him—"that leaves you Yuma, Arizona, completely free and unentailed. I understand it's very pleasant there."

"Yes, sir," said the Meek, getting to their feet.

"One thing more," said Mr. Chetbourne. "We shall of course have certain cash disbursements, not covered by the agreed counsel fee. If you happen to have any cash on you—"

The Meek had only about $12, but Mr. Chetbourne was quite nice about it. He took it without complaint.

In the Wind

THE "PREMATURE" editorial in the London *Times* urging cession of the Sudeten area to Germany was everywhere looked upon as a major help in shaping Hitler's demands. "Inside" reports from London now reveal that the editorial was not merely written by British friends of Hitler but actually submitted to the German embassy for approval before publication.

R. H. MACY'S celebrated New York department store recently hired James Montgomery Flagg to illustrate an advertisement which proclaimed: "I don't know of any better way of saving money than paying cash." Consumers Union discloses that in Toledo, Ohio, the La Salle and Koche store, a Macy subsidiary, used the same illustration to promote the "Handy Credit Plan With 20 Weeks to Pay."

AT THE height of the recent Maryland primaries campaign the militantly pro-Tydings Baltimore *Sun* charged that federal office-holders hostile to David J. Lewis were to be "purged" by the New Deal. Lewis supporters are still bitter over an alleged "double-cross" which, they assert, provided the springboard for that charge. This is their story: a *Sun* reporter came to Washington, mingled with Lewis's friends, denounced Tydings, and voiced his weariness of newspaper work. He was finally told that he might be eligible for a publicity job in Lewis's campaign and later for a federal post. The next thing the reporter's new friends saw was a scorching "exposé" in the *Sun* of the coming "purge of office-holders"—supposedly written by the reporter-sleuth.

AMONG OUR favorite pieces of Japanese propaganda for foreign consumption is a pamphlet called "Japanese Spirit in Full Bloom." The high point of the document is this noble sentiment: ". . . we ask one favor of the Chinese: please fight like men, civilized and brave; for enemy though you be, you have our love and respect. God save you from betraying this love and respect."

A CHAIN letter urging the disfranchisement of relief recipients was launched some weeks ago from Newark, New Jersey. The letterhead on the original document gave as its sponsor an organization called "Liberty vs. Slavery," with a Newark address and telephone number. The letter urged a "colossal petition" to Congress to bar relief workers from the polls. When this column called the number given, the operator who replied insisted at first that she knew nothing about the venture; the address, she said, was that of a law office. After some insistence she confessed that "one of the lawyers here might know about it—he likes to write." He wasn't in but she promised he would call us back if he knew about it. He hasn't called. The address is 790 Broad Street, Suite 524, Newark, if you want to inquire.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. The $5 prize for the best item submitted during September goes to Richard Neuberger of Portland, Oregon, for the item about Claude Ingalls published two weeks ago.*]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

More Parallel Action?

I AGREE with Dorothy Thompson's statement that if the British and French sell out Czechoslovakia they will pronounce the obituary of Europe, certainly of democracy in Europe. That is, I suppose, what she means, for Europe will go on in one fashion or another, with one nation after another enslaved. But of democracy there will soon not be a vestige. Far from safeguarding England and France, such a capitulation will more than ever endanger them. Berlin will then know that they will not fight for anything save an invasion of their own countries. I hear rumors that someone has seen somebody else in the State Department and that that somebody has told the first person that England forced the Czechs to surrender originally in order to gain time to complete its rearmament next spring, when it will go after Hitler and make him disgorge. If people in official life in England believe that, then they are on the intellectual level of the cave man. What Hitler wants most after the Sudeten Mountains is the Skoda munitions works, which for a generation have made the best artillery in Europe—they rank third among all European munitions plants, coming after Krupp and Schneider-Creusot. The advantage of possessing these works will be so great that it will go far toward offsetting anything that France and England may do to increase their armaments between now and next May or June. If Hitler annexes Rumania as his next step, and Hungary voluntarily comes into his orbit, he will control everything that he wants—all the gasoline and wheat that he needs to make Germany self-sustaining. I insist that this means the licensing of Hitler to conquer any country he desires to attack.

Certainly not one country in Europe is safe today, and least of all Italy. Mussolini is either stupider than I have given him credit for being or much worse off economically than has been supposed. With Czechoslovakia completely subjugated, Hitler will be far stronger than Mussolini. He can say to the latter any day that he wants those Tyrolese Germans, and I don't see that Mussolini could fight him with the slightest hope of success. He has become the tail to the Hitler dog. Denmark, Latvia, Poland, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium—not one is secure. Why shouldn't Hitler then go to the rescue of the Flemish minority in Belgium? Why shouldn't he demand the return overnight of Schleswig-Holstein? England and France would not intervene again in Belgium if they failed to save the Czechs. Looking at what has happened to increase Hitler's power in the last five months, will anyone say that France and England together, if they abandon Czechoslovakia, will be able to stand out against this man in five years' time?

What is worst of all to me is the arrogant, brutal tone taken by England and France toward Czechoslovakia before Godesberg. They were not even polite to the victim they were turning over to the rapist. They did not consult with her before they decided to abandon her, and then they brushed aside her demand for arbitration. As I write, there is still a possibility that Czechoslovakia will literally be torn to pieces. And yet we Americans have been told that it is our duty either to go in for collective security with these two countries or to indulge in what is known as "parallel action." Less than a year ago there was a clique in Washington which thought it had this country all sewed up with Great Britain for a joint naval war against Japan. We were to shut the Panama Canal and hold the Straits of Magellan, and England was to close the Straits of Malacca and the Suez Canal and cut off the trade route around the Cape of Good Hope. Japan was to be bottled up and that was to be the end of it. In three months' time, unable to import or export, Japan would collapse and sue for peace. That was what "parallel action" at that time was leading us to. We actually had an American naval man, Captain Ingersoll, in London working out all the details, and hiding under the name of "Captain Smith."

If England and France now put themselves beyond the pale by abandoning the Czechs completely, the American people ought to let Washington know right straight off that they do not propose to have "parallel action" in the name of democracy or anything else with either of the countries that have deliberately sold out the one remaining democracy in Southeastern Europe, the democracy that those countries created, to which both pledged their faith in 1919 when Czechoslovakia was given an international guaranty of its safety. Why should we trust England thereafter any more than Hitler? Was it not Sir John Simon who let us down when we were asking England for parallel action and actual cooperation to prevent the rape of Manchuria? Perhaps we are fools to think for a moment that there can be any other outcome in Czechoslovakia. Are we so stupid as to forget Manchuria, Ethiopia, the British retreat from the Mediterranean before Mussolini's "death squadron"? And Spain, and Austria?

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ANATOMY OF POWER

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

BERTRAND RUSSELL has the distinction of being one of the profoundest minds of our day in two not too closely connected fields of learning, that of abstract philosophical and mathematical theory and that of social analysis and philosophy. In the former field he reaches heights of abstraction which are quite beyond the comprehension of the average reader. In the latter he expresses profound insights with such clarity and simplicity that his works have become, in the best sense, popular. His ventures into the field of social theory are all readable though they are not all equally important. But this new book is important. Mr. Russell is not above producing pot-boilers on occasion. His "Freedom and Organization," for instance, published a few years ago, was no more than a series of interesting animadversions upon the history of Europe during the past hundred years.

His new book on "Power" is important not because he offers any striking solution for the problems of human society but because he subjects all proposed solutions to a withering scrutiny of glorified common sense. Russell is a foe of all fanaticism, and no one penetrates to the realities behind the veils and pretenses of social life with a defter touch or more unerring aim. Here is just one example among many:

> In democratic countries the most important private organizations are economic. Unlike secret societies, they are able to exercise their terrorism without illegality since they do not threaten to kill their enemies but only to starve them. By means of such threats, which do not need to be explicitly uttered, they have frequently defeated even governments, for example, recently in France.

The power which is the theme of Mr. Russell's new book is "power over men, not power over matter." The basic character of the will-to-power in man is recognized in terms of such thoroughgoing realism that one wonders just how far new and more realistic insights have corroded the pacifist convictions of the author, once so uncompromisingly expressed. They are not explicitly renounced, but neither are they expressed with any emphasis. He declares:

> I am informed by many people that the preservation of democracy, which I think important, can only be secured by gassing immense numbers of children and doing a number of other horrible things. I find that, at this point, I cannot acquiesce in the use of such means. I tell myself that they will not secure the end or that, if they do, they will have other effects so evil as to outweigh any good that democracy might do. I am not sure how far this argument is honest; I think I should refuse to use such means even if I were persuaded that they would secure the end and that no others would.

If all men, even good men, express themselves in terms of the will-to-power, it is difficult to see how periodic clashes of competing wills can be avoided, however terrible the consequences. It becomes even more difficult when the traditional pacifist distinction between persuasion and coercion is renounced. And Mr. Russell does renounce it.

> It is not altogether true [he says] that persuasion is one thing and force is another. Many forms of persuasion, even many which everybody approves, are really a kind of force. . . . The ethics of power cannot consist in distinguishing some kinds of power as legitimate and others as illegitimate. . . . We must judge the exercise of power by its effects, and we must therefore first make up our minds what effects we desire.

That conviction is really destructive of any type of pragmatic pacifism. Mr. Russell confesses that in the ultimate analysis he holds to another and more absolute pacifist conviction, transcending the utilitarian tests, which are usually definitive for him. It may be doubted whether, even in the chapters in which he comes to grips with ethical theory, Mr. Russell clears up this difficulty and offers a sound basis for his distinction between absolute and utilitarian ethical criteria.

To return to the theme of the book, whether or not it merely threatens or actually destroys the author's pacifist presuppositions: Mr. Russell, I think rightly, regards the will-to-power as more basic than economic self-interest, and is critical of both orthodox economists and Marxians for believing the latter to be primary.

> The desire for commodities when separated from power and glory is finite and can be fully satisfied by a moderate competence. The really expensive [expansive?] desires are not dictated by a love of material comfort. . . . Men may seek wealth as a means to power or they may forgo an increase in wealth in order to secure an increase of power, but in the former as in the latter case the fundamental motive is not economic.

* "Power, a New Social Analysis." By Bertrand Russell. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

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This conviction prompts the author to be critical of the hope that the socialization of property will solve the problem of economic power completely. "I wish to say unequivocally that I consider it valid but provided that it is adequately safeguarded and amplified." One of the safeguards is the recognition of the fact that "ownership" is not identical with control and that lack of ownership therefore need not mean lack of power:

> Under any form of socialism which is not democratic those who control economic power can, without "owning" anything, have palatial official residences, the use of the best cars, a princely entertainment allowance, holidays at public expense in official holiday resorts, and so on and on. And why should they have any more concern for the ordinary worker than those in control have now? There can be no reason why they should have, unless the ordinary worker has power to deprive them of their positions. . . . To suppose that irresponsible power, just because it is called Socialist or Communist, will be freed miraculously from the bad qualities of all arbitrary power in the past is merely childish nursery psychology.

In analyzing the various forms of power according to their intrinsic nature, their relation to each other, and their various transmutations and admixtures in actual historical circumstance Mr. Russell moves with deftness and precision amid vast and complex historical realities. He makes a basic distinction between (a) direct "physical power over the body," or "naked" and usually military power; (b) power by rewards and punishments (usually economic); and (c) "by influence on opinion, that is, propaganda in the broadest sense," as exemplified in schools, churches, and political parties. These basic forms of power are variously intermingled historically in "traditional," "naked," and "revolutionary" power. Traditional power rests primarily upon habits of obedience and is "almost invariably associated with religious or quasi-religious beliefs." When traditional power comes to an end because its pretensions of sanctity no longer elicit reverence, it is supplanted by either naked power or revolutionary power. Revolutionary power is defined as power "which depends upon a large group united by a new creed, program, or sentiment, such as Protestantism, communism, or desire for national independence." This raises the question whether there are not affinities and similarities between traditional and revolutionary power which Mr. Russell has not considered though he has called attention to the religious overtones in both. Perhaps there are only two forms of political power: that in which reverence for sanctity creates obedience, and that in which fear of naked power is the primary constituent of habits of obedience. In that case both traditional and revolutionary power are merely forms of the same power, primarily religious in quality. Mr. Russell really accepts such a view by implication, though not explicitly, for he includes Lenin consistently among the religious leaders and contributes many important insights on the place of dogma and fanaticism in the development of revolutionary power.

In seeking ways and means for preventing the power impulse in man from leading to injustice and destruction Mr. Russell offers many suggestions, none of which are new but all more or less valid. His chief contribution lies in his ability to measure the limits of every solution. He would, in terms of education, seek not to destroy the will-to-power, for that is impossible, but to prevent the love of power for its own sake from arising. He would seek to balance power against power so that no center or form of power would gain the dominance which invariably leads to oppression. He remains for this reason a consistent democrat in social theory, with a healthy disrespect for every form of irresponsible power, whether wielded by pope or commissar. He would inculcate an attitude of healthy skepticism toward all ferocious dogmatism, for "a diffused liberal sentiment, tinged with skepticism, makes social cooperation much less difficult and liberty correspondingly more possible." He remains therefore a consistent liberal as well as a democrat, believing that "to admire collective enthusiasm is reckless and irresponsible, for its fruits are fierceness, war, death, and slavery." He would, finally, abolish war, because the fears of war throw men into the arms of dictators.

This is a very wholesome book in this age of new dogmatisms and fanaticisms. It may not fully recognize to what degree fanatical loyalties may be creative as well as destructive, but it is not completely oblivious of that fact. Even if it were, its emphasis would still be on the right side in the present moment.

Romains, Continued

DEATH OF A WORLD. By Jules Romains. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

IT IS curiously appropriate that at this moment, perhaps the eve of another world war, two of the greatest living French writers should simultaneously recreate in fiction the outbreak of the war in 1914. Jules Romains's record of the embroiled events of that fatal year makes a less intense, less haunting picture than the one Roger Martin du Gard gives in the yet untranslated "Summer 1914." But though Martin du Gard shows superior penetration and a better knowledge of modern history, Romains achieves a greater semblance of universality through his conception of the cyclic novel as a panorama without a hero. More uniform in accomplishment than the sixth volume of "Men of Good Will" (which sampled "The Depths and the Heights" of its author's talent), the seventh volume also contains more variety.

The first half of "Death of a World" concerns Abbé Mionnet's secret mission to Rome on behalf of the French government to discover what the papacy's foreign policy is, and the high point of the Roman chapters is certainly the

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brilliant portrait of Merry del Val, papal Secretary of State. The second half traces Europe's precipitate course toward war, chiefly as seen by that astute and mysterious observer Maykosen, and reaches its peak in the portrait of Lenin as an exile in Cracow. Playing around these main themes—because Romains deliberately forbids himself to pursue a direct course—are numerous minor themes to remind us of some of the hundreds of characters introduced in earlier volumes. The sex life of Champcenais, of Sammécaud, of the dog Macaire, of the old maid Bernardine, Marie de Champcenais's colorless mysticism (one of the poorer realizations), Quinette's obsession with murder, Jallez's and Jerphanion's reaction to "Agathon's" tendentious summary of the attitude of youth in 1913, and Germaine Baader's superstition provide further documents on the variegated life of the great capital which is the center of "Men of Good Will." Often Romains returns, as Gide did in "The Counterfeiters," to the problem of creation, and when he does he produces his best chapters because he is then dealing with a subject that touches him most intimately. It is, in fact, as easy to discern in Dr. Viaur's revolutionary experiments in psycho-physiology the history of Romains's own discovery of paroptic vision fifteen years ago as it is to see Picasso in the Spanish painter Ortegal.

Unlike Martin du Gard, Jules Romains makes free use of historical figures, putting into their mouths conversations they might have had; the reader thus enters Poincaré's study, sits at the cafe with Jaurès, and steps aboard the Kaiser's yacht. This liberty became a necessity the moment Romains decided to cover all of life, all types and all activities, and Maykosen's interviews with the great are no more important to the work as a whole than the chapter on little Louis Bastide who thinks of suicide because he cannot understand mathematics. The strong family resemblance among so many of the characters, on the other hand, becomes increasingly annoying as "Men of Good Will" progresses. Besides Jallez, Jerphanion, and Mionnet, who, with their creator, are products of the greatest normal school in the world, too many others seem to have sharpened their minds studying and teaching philosophy.

After several volumes of "Men of Good Will" the reader might readily come to the conclusion that this protracted novel is above all a thriller. Spies, murderers, terrorists, the sexually abnormal, and the secretly vicious swarm through its pages; priests and old women have startling adventures, and the calmest careers suddenly collapse before impulse or intrigue. But whoever suspects Romains of greater application in the effort to thrill his readers than in the effort to seize life should be promptly referred to the tabloids and the movies for a preparatory course before he begins the next volume. Jules Romains's work does have a unity and a purpose which are visible, for instance, in the anthology piece formed by the last chapter of "Death of a World" and even more discernible in that far better selection, the initial chapters of the whole work. "Men of Good Will" is not only better reading than the tabloids; it is superior to all but the very best literary output of our day. The English translation is good without being brilliant. Often too free, or even careless, it should have been done with the sober fidelity with which Scott Moncrieff rendered Proust. JUSTIN O'BRIEN

Mr. Adams's Empire

BUILDING THE BRITISH EMPIRE: TO THE END OF THE FIRST EMPIRE. By James Truslow Adams. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

THERE is nothing fresh or new about this book either in the facts it presents or in the interpretation of them. As for the facts, one will find them in any one of half a dozen good college textbooks. As for the interpretation, it is that of the conventional liberal of two or three generations ago. For the most part attention is confined to political history. The point of approach is indicated by the title, but the matters selected for discussion do not always seem pertinent, and many of the weightier matters of the law are quite ignored. We should suppose that any author undertaking to discuss the building of the British Empire would begin by asking what the essential elements were in that pattern of English civilization which has been imposed upon something like a quarter of the whole earth. We should expect to hear much about the English law, the English language, the English industrial organization, the currents of English thought and of English faith. But we look in vain for any adequate treatment of any of these matters. There is a good deal about parliament, but how it was chosen and what interests it represented are withheld from us. We hear much about the "quarrels of the kites and the crows" in Anglo-Saxon England, but nothing about the county court, which was, perhaps, the outstanding contribution of the Anglo-Saxons to English political arrangements. Curiously enough, the sheriff is represented as of Norman origin (page 48), though any etymologist would have known better. As for the jury, an institution which lies near the roots not only of the English system of jurisprudence but also of the whole development of representative government, Mr. Adams says less about the jury than he does about the Begums of Oudh. There is virtually nothing about the development of English thought. Hooker, whose first name, by the way, was Richard, not Thomas (page 236), is dismissed as a writer of good prose; Hobbes is a word, *praeterea nihil;* Locke, a phrase. The rise of British capitalism is not even mentioned. The whole mercantilist control of industry and trade is confined to one sentence about the bullionist theory and another sentence about the self-contained state. Mr. Adams, in identifying mercantilism with the integrated economy of today (page 305), reveals a failure to grasp the essentials of either pattern.

Those who are not already Anglicans will find out little from this book about the Church of England, and Puritanism is left about as vague as it is in contemporary jargon. As for the common man in field and workshop, we should never know from Mr. Adams how, between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century, the medieval craftsman was gradually degraded and the free peasantry completely destroyed by the encroachments of the new economy.

It is, perhaps, better that the reading public at large should know something about the rise of the British Empire than that it should be left completely in the dark. And many will read this book who would never think of reading a much better book by an author of less renown. But they will get from it only the slightest inkling of the forces which in reality built up the British Empire. Unless I am very

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much mistaken they will find it uncommonly dull reading. And that will be a pity, for certainly the story of the expansion of England is one of the best stories in the world.

CONYERS READ

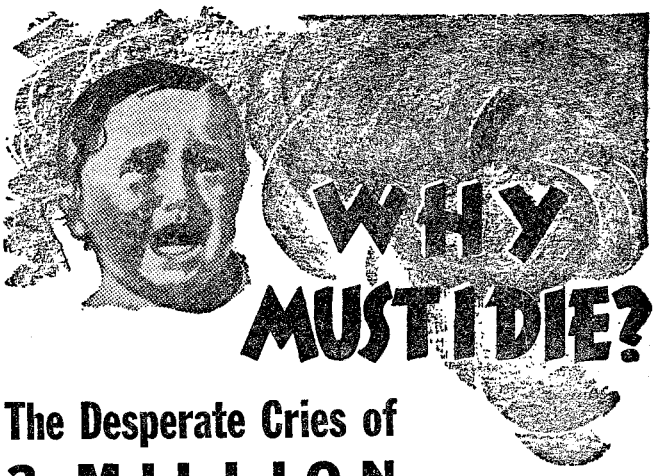
The Spirit of Nazism

THE WAR AGAINST THE WEST. By Aurel Kolnai. With a Preface by Wickham Steed. The Viking Press. $4.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM may be regarded as a form of economic regimentation or of military preparation for the purposes of political expansion. But its efforts in this direction receive their momentum from the system of doctrines, the *Weltanschauung*, which binds the different acts of the Third Reich into a unity and gives the clue to their true understanding. There is a great wealth of literature on this subject in German, written by leading Nazis and by a host of philosophers, social scientists, poets, and journalists who frequently themselves are not Nazis but have done much to prepare the intellectual climate in which alone the Third Reich can thrive. These books and articles, the number of which has grown rapidly during the last five years, soon become monotonous to read because they are all variations of the selfsame central tenets. They are rarely accessible to the foreign reader because of the difficulty of their vocabulary and syntax and because they have to convey thoughts and attitudes unknown to the Western reader and hardly adaptable to translation.

The knowledge of this *Weltanschauung*, however, is indispensable for a right evaluation of National Socialism and its international consequences. The grave errors made by some Western statesmen are to be explained not only by a breakdown of political morale and a precipitate abandonment of professed principles but also by incomprehension of the real character of National Socialism. As true Westerners —liberal, "bourgeois," and rational—they try to place Nazism in the categories familiar to them, and to treat it as if it were liberal, "bourgeois," and rational. In reality National Socialism is, and prides itself on being, the great counter-revolution against the Western revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is an uprising against the "ideas of 1789," against liberalism and the rights of man, against any rational universal order, and against the basic attitudes of Christian and Greek civilization.

The book by Dr. Kolnai is the first comprehensive survey in English of Nazi ideology as a counter-revolution against the West. English readers will be grateful both for his selection and translation of characteristic and often little-known texts and for his own keen comments. He believes that the National Socialist doctrines, though ultimately false and immoral, are sometimes endowed with spiritual grandeur and relevancy, and that, though by no means identical with Germanism, they are deeply rooted in German history and expressive of some important aspects of the German mind. Nazism is more than Prussianism has ever been, it is more than nationalistic chauvinism; it bears within itself the seeds of pan-Germanic imperialism as well as of a semi-religious pan-fascist imperialism. It is therefore not only a menace of war but a fountain-head of propaganda.



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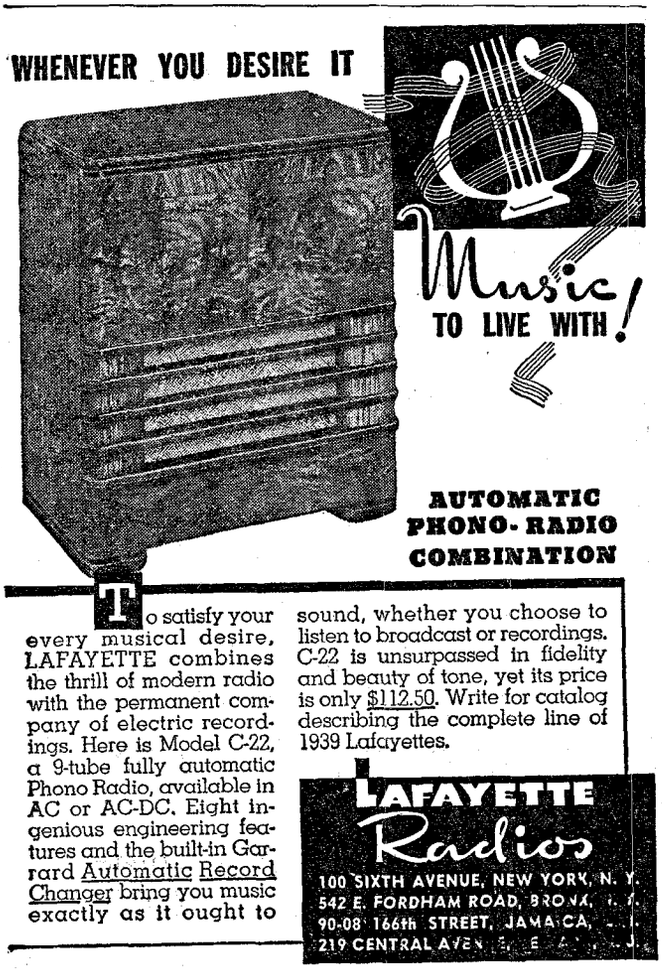
The nationalism of National Socialism is little understood in the West because it is confounded with Western nationalism. The fundamental difference of its socialism from what we usually call socialism is generally acknowledged, but the brilliant chapter on "society and economics" in Dr. Kolnai's book will make the real character of this socialism better understood. All economic and social issues are in Germany subordinated to the one central thought—the approach of the "epoch of the Germans" in world history. With the victory of the counter-revolution over the West (and the West is a very comprehensive term ranging from Milton and Locke, Descartes and Condorcet, to Jefferson and Lincoln and all the sources of their inspiration and all the movements which have been touched by their spirit) the nation "that will crush the humanitarian life of Europe and hoist the banner of true order" will necessarily become the undisputed head and leader of Europe and of mankind. The moral standards of the non-fascist world are "mainly assessed as a jumble of cowardice, selfishness, and hypocrisy." The Western world prepares for catastrophe as for something which is to be avoided at almost any cost; Germany derives power and success from this attitude. Dr. Kolnai tries to put before English readers the whole seriousness of the decision which they face, on which depend the legacy and the hopes of Western civilization. He is still optimistic, and he concludes with Masaryk's words, "Democracy is still in its infancy." It must, however, be said that this book was written before September 18, 1938.

The book is warmly recommended because the question which it discusses touches everybody's life and future. The average reader, however—and the book should have a wide circulation—would prefer a condensation in many places, while the scholarly reader misses more detailed references which would give him an opportunity to check the quotations and to assess their value for himself. But the array of texts quoted is so rich, the author's interpretation so convincing, and the presentation so distinguished for clarity and wit that the book will be widely read not only as an exposure of the war against the West but as a revealing defense of the West and its threatened moral values.

HANS KOHN



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A Survey of Regionalism

AMERICAN REGIONALISM: A CULTURAL HISTORICAL APPROACH TO NATIONAL INTEGRATION. By Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore. Henry Holt and Company. $5.

IN EFFECT Professor Odum's latest work on regionalism, written in collaboration with Harry Estill Moore, is a symposium. It draws by paragraph and page from the National Resources Committee's Report on "Regional Factors in National Planning and Development" and at considerable length from articles and books by many American historians, anthropologists, geologists, geographers, even literary critics, and from the work of other regionalists, with a sprinkling from European authorities. It quotes frequently and at length from Professor Odum's own "Southern Regions in the United States," itself an extensive work. At times it becomes a résumé of résumés. Major materials that have accumulated on the subject in the last twenty-odd years are thus brought under one roof, and the array is rich and many-sided.

The book will have great usefulness for the student, saving hours of pedestrian labor by its wealth of reference, yet Professor Odum's own earlier work, with that of others, has opened the way for something more explicit. One could wish that the authors had condensed the many problems of theoretical approach to sharp points and had posed the final and practical problems with equal sharpness. By their unstressed elaborations of theory they succeed in suggesting that the problems of administrative regionalism in the United States have a more than Balkan complexity. They come up to the question of practical solutions but do not attempt to present them. Only one short chapter on problems and strategy is given, and this remains general and discursive.

The broader objectives of regionalism, in the authors' view, are "a new . . . balance of men and agriculture and rural life within the nation's total life. . . . Regionalism is a symbol of America's geographic control as opposed to class control." These sound like fighting words, but they are not made to fight; indeed they are almost obscurely set down. Their debatable elements are clearest. The chapter on political theory, which surely is basic in this connection, is particularly scant, and the obstacles in the path of administrative regionalism created by practical politics are hardly touched upon at all. One bold full passage, in highly concrete terms, written with these objectives in view, on the difficulties which beset administrative organizations within a single region or

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subregion, say that of the Great Lakes, would have done more to establish final problems than the wide topical discussion of theories which the authors have given us. We are ready for a much tougher and more forthright book than the one they have produced. CONSTANCE ROURKE

The Simple Life

THE LONG VALLEY. By John Steinbeck. The Viking Press. $2.50.

A ROMANTIC ardor for the simple life is the bridge between John Steinbeck's earlier work and his later. What has always seemed to him the cure for modern neuroses is man's identification with nature. His scene has been California and particularly the Salinas Valley. His first books had to do with the psychologically sick intellectual brought to health by a return to nature; his later books have had to do with the sick farm laborer cured, again, largely by nature.

Once he stopped treating of characters like himself, Steinbeck pruned his style, swept away most of his lushness and emotionalism, and became a realist. But he continued to rely for his symbols essentially on the Freudian psychology that marked his earlier books. He merely turned to a larger circle of characters, to a new class, to exemplify his thesis that man and his natural environment should not be separated. In turning from self-examination to the applications of his thesis in simple characters, he lost something of his personal passion but became a more competent writer relying on a realistic technique and dramatic shock to make his points.

I am not asserting that Steinbeck's first books were his best. They were overwritten and sentimental, but Steinbeck himself appeared in a different light. In his latest books his Freudianism remains, but he has turned from working out a personal solution—in its nature somewhat reactionary—to the application rather than the evolution of the psychology of frustration. That society alters personal psychology he knows, but he reveals little feeling for social evolution in itself.

How does all this affect his work? Every short story in this book springs from a preconceived symbol, not from a rich knowledge of character (although the outlines of these character drawings are clear) or a social situation. In every narrative, therefore, character and action, as by a formula, exemplify a symbol. The most significant symbols to Steinbeck are always life, death, nature. This fact causes him to place his emphasis on the bravery and pathos of the simple poor of the farm laboring class. But because his symbols do not necessarily evolve out of the situations presented, nor out of his impassioned vision of his characters' significance, they seem obvious. The alert reader will know in a paragraph or two of each story just how the author proposes to prove his point.

These stories are clever, but they move toward nothing. Nor do Steinbeck's novels move toward any consistent vision of life or toward any set of values. He has written one study of labor struggle which reads like a detective story ("In Dubious Battle"), inconclusive in its social philosophy but effective in dramatic plot. "Mice and Men" is far more cer-

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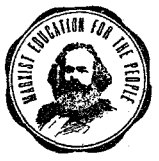

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tainly a study of neuroses than it is a picture of the proletarian. The best short story in this new collection, "The Red Pony," is forced, by the interjection of an act of violence, to prove that through violence life springs from death. This story of a boy's loss of his first pony, of his learning about life in watching the entire process of his second pony's conception, prenatal growth, and emergence into the world, would have been right had the author not insisted that the second pony's mother, too, meet death in order to show that life is born of death. The killing of the mare in order to save the colt is a totally forced situation, and forced, as always, to emphasize Steinbeck's symbolism.

In general, Steinbeck's Salinas Valley farmers never indicate more than their own characters, manipulated to some extent by the author. Toward what ideology, if any, do they move? Toward what ideology does the author himself move? Nothing in his work seems resolved or progressing toward resolution. His stories are competent, but reading them one goes through no authentic experience.

EDA LOU WALTON

Good, Clean Fun

NIGHTINGALE WOOD. By Stella Gibbons. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.50.

IT'S a safe bet that we're in for a severe winter in the book line: the novels are already growing thicker coats of gloom, the social studies are sprouting heavier pessimistic growths, the bookworms are storing up unusually large caches of tracts on the leading ideologies. So if you want to catch a little gleam of Good Clean Fun before the long Arctic night sets in, here's a tip: "Nightingale Wood" has sparkle, zest, verve, flavor—well, everything that a good drink has and most novels these days haven't. Of course, if you still cling to that quaint superstition about the British not having any sense of humor, you may—because Stella Gibbons is British—read the book and simply refuse to be amused. Or you may be shocked. Not because of moral lapses or barnyard diction, understand, but because it violates the axiom that books about frustrated, inhibited, shortsighted bourgeois should curdle your very marrow, drive you grimly through the psychological cesspool to a grand climax involving incest, arson, rape, murder, and suicide. No, Miss Gibbons is apparently a woman to whom Nothing Is Sacred. She pokes an irreverent finger right into the short-ribs of the morbid psychological study; she shamelessly pictures the antics of a middle-class family in an English village, frustrations, inhibitions, sublimations, and all, and still expects the reader to have a good time. She even throws in a perfectly uproarious hermit, a sort of combination of Puck, Falstaff, and Jeeter Lester. All the people in the book take themselves too seriously, but somehow they muddle through, and if in the end they are no happier, they are at least no less happy than before. Now, where would we be if that sort of radical nonsense took hold—if we just went along taking our fun where we found it, not worrying because the people in the story aren't as unhappy as we think they ought to be? Well, never fear: it won't happen often. Not this winter, anyway.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

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DRAMA

The James Boys in Missouri

THIRTY years or more ago one of the favorite items in the standard repertory of the traveling stock company was a piece entitled "The James Boys in Missouri," which was performed from Maine to California on the ten-twenty-thirty circuit. I have my own reasons for remembering it, and I can assure those who may be too young to do so that it was not very different from "Missouri Legend," which has just been produced with considerable éclat at no less a theater than the Empire and by no less a person that Guthrie McClintic ("in association with Max Gordon"). "The James Boys" stuck rather closer to business and therefore moved rather more rapidly, but when "Missouri Legend" is interesting it is usually interesting in the same way and for the same reasons.

I am afraid, however, that the author of the new play, E. B. Ginty, aimed vaguely at something rather different. His title seems to indicate an intention to capture the fabulous atmosphere which surrounds Jesse James as a folk hero; and, indeed, the two best scenes—that in which Jesse pays off the mortgage of an Ozark widow and the brief concluding episode in which the ballad-maker at his funeral sings the lay about "the dirty little coward who shot Mr. Howard" instead of a hymn—actually do succeed in catching the flavor of robustious legend. But Mr. Ginty never seems able to remain faithful to any one style or any one conception of his central character for more than a scene at a time, and accordingly such consistent interest as he manages to maintain is merely the elementary interest of a story of gun-play. When Jesse is not being the folk hero—and this is most of the time—he is a rather pallid figure condescendingly conceived by the author as a simple, pious soul who believes that God will forgive the murders he does not seem able to avoid in view of his persistent loyalty to the Baptist church. This rather unsuccessfully intellectualized version of the character is neither the Jesse of legend nor, unless I have been misinformed, the Jesse of history. Either of these might conceivably become the central character in an interesting play. So, for that matter, might Mr. Ginty's conception if it were given a credibility and a vitality which it here lacks. The legendary figure "exists" and so does the historical one. Mr. Ginty's conception does not.

The catastrophe of the new play is the same as it was in the old one—the hero is shot in the back when he turns to straighten a picture on the wall. At the Empire it is a picture of his mother, though I am perfectly sure that when I saw "The James Boys" in the old days it was the likeness of a race horse. I should like to argue that "Missouri Legend" is just to that degree more sentimental than "The James Boys in Missouri," but I am not sure enough of my facts. It may just possibly be that the stock company I remember had a picture of a horse and none of a mother, while Mr. McClintic, in association with Max Gordon, can command whatever props historical authenticity requires. There is a pleasant

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performance by Dean Jagger, and very accomplished ones by Mildred Natwick as the Ozark widow and Dorothy Gish as Jesse's long-suffering wife.

It is reliably reported that the coming theatrical season is to be notable for an unusually large number of plays dealing with Americana and also for an unusually large number of musical shows. "Missouri Legend" is no very encouraging specimen of the first category, and "You Never Know" (Winter Garden) no very encouraging specimen of the second—despite the fact that Cole Porter is given chief credit for the score and that the cast is composed of a collection of such favorites and ex-favorites as Clifton Webb, Libby Holman, Lupe Velez, and the dancing Hartmanns. There is an all-too-brief acrobatic dance by June Preisser and some amusingly rowdy moments furnished by Miss Velez, but time which might be devoted to the specialties of all the principals is sacrificed to the careful elaboration of a prodigiously dull plot about a valet who masquerades as his master to conduct a love affair with a great lady who—wonderful stroke of ingenuity—turns out to be a lady's maid also in disguise.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

THIS seemed to be the right time to investigate phonographs, that is, medium-priced phonographs; and for the benefit of readers afflicted with direct current I began with the Ansley, which is built for use with both types of current, and which I recommend even to readers who have A.C., since the difference in current makes no difference in the phonograph reproduction. Only one detail of construction need be mentioned: the curved pickup arm, which reduces wear on the record and surface noise, and which the Magnavox that I discussed last year does not have. The Ansley D-21 radio-phonograph, which lists at $170 with A.C. motor and $175 with D.C. motor, gives good reproduction that will be completely satisfactory to those who like their music at a rather low volume level. But for the depth and richness of tone and clarity of definition that one would want in orchestral reproduction at the proper volume level, or even in reproduction of piano, the instrument to get is the D-25, which lists at $205 and $210. I recommend only these two Ansleys; in a small, low-priced instrument the best buy that I know at the moment is still the Magnavox table model. But I may have other recommendations later on.

In reply to continuing questions about needles I repeat: use a Columbia chromium for new records, and then for no more than five record sides. When the loose residue has been cleaned out of the grooves (one playing will do it for a Victor record), use either a Victor halftone steel, shadowgraphed if you can afford it, and a fresh needle for each record side; or the Universal non-metallic imported by the Center Music Store, 1242 Sixth Avenue, New York. This needle reproduces almost as well as steel; it plays several record sides in succession—the better the needle-

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track alignment of the pickup the greater the number of sides; and it can therefore be used as a semi-permanent substitute for chromium. As for the sapphire, I can report that a new one which I heard briefly sounded well, but I have not been able to test what it does to a record and what an old one sounds like; and experts I have talked with advise against it, particularly against its use with an automatic record-changer, where it may be chipped when it is dropped on to the record.

As though to confound my gloomy observations one of the best Ellington records in years is at hand: "Jitterbug's Lullaby," played nominally by Johnny Hodges and his orchestra (Vocalion), and with fine solos by other Ellington players. Hodges's solo after the vocal of "Lost in Meditation" (Vocalion) makes that record also worth having; there is a good trumpet solo at the beginning of "Love in Swingtime," recorded by Ellington under his own name (Brunswick); and the same trumpeter helps Ellington to recreate "Lambeth Walk" in an amusing way (Brunswick).

And as though to confound my gloom over Irving Berlin's songs in "Carefree" there is his extraordinary "Now It Can Be Told." This you may have in an outstanding example of Mildred Bailey singing in its Red Norvo instrumental setting (Vocalion); and you may have the brilliant saxophone solo of Benny Carter at the beginning of Teddy Wilson's record (Brunswick). On this one Wilson's playing is very bad, but he approximates his old form in "Laugh and Call It Love" (Brunswick), which with its other solos is quite the best of his recent records. And the Bailey-Norvo combination offers another finely wrought example of its unique style in "So Help Me" (Vocalion).

An error in my recent piece: I remembered a Claude Thornhill piano solo in a Maxine Sullivan record and I thought it was in "Please Be Kind"; but on replaying this record I have found that it has not Thornhill's solo but a trumpet solo which I should have remembered, for it is worth the price of the record. What I take to be Thornhill and the same trumpeter are to be heard in Billie Holiday's "I Wish I Had You" (Vocalion).

Investigating Decca 75-cent records further I can report that Sonia Gramatte plays Bach's Chaconne (two records) with the vigor of three men, which is excessive; that "Roméo seul" and "Grand fete chez Capulet" from Berlioz's "Roméo et Juliette" are worth having in Pierné's performance (two records); that Bettendorf's singing of "Ich hab' nur Traurigkeit" (one record) from Brahms's German Requiem is very beautiful, and the Irmler Madrigal Choir's singing of "Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen" (one record) and "Herr, Du bist würdig" (one record) is acceptable; that Bettendorf's record of Senta's Ballad is fair; that Seinemeyer's singing in the finale of "Tristan" is good, but the orchestral playing is poor, and the pace is hastened and the concluding measures of the orchestra are omitted in order to get the piece all on one side; that Vaughan Williams's "London" Symphony, agreeable program music of no great consequence, is well recorded by Wood (five records); and that Walton's Viola Concerto, which I find a less impressive work than his symphony, is excellently recorded by Frederick Riddle and the London Symphony under Walton (three records, $3.50).

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Padlock Law in Canada

Dear Sirs: As an old-time reader of *The Nation* I beg a little space to inform your readers of the way the "padlock law" is applied in the province of Quebec. On Thursday, September 8, two officers of the provincial police especially charged with the application of the padlock law visited my residence in my absence, and showing to my wife their credentials from the provincial authorities, ransacked my home in search of communistic literature. I had a valuable collection of books dealing with economics and social problems, including most of the books released in the last four or five years by such authors as Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Malraux, Sender, Ralph Bates, Duranty, Agnes Smedley, Edgar Snow, Palme Dutt, and Bernard Shaw. Among the numerous periodicals confiscated was a large bundle of *The Nation.*

I cannot think of any reasonable explanation for this drastic application of the law in my case as I do not take an active part in propagandizing communism, except to attend left-wing meetings as a sympathizer. The night before the raid, as delegate from an Italian workers' organization, I attended a meeting called to lay plans for a financial campaign, sponsored by the Canadian Civic Liberty Union, to fight the padlock law through the courts, and to have it declared unconstitutional. I presume that the behavior of the provincial authorities is principally to intimidate all lovers of democracy from taking an active part in this campaign. FRANK LEONE

Montreal, Canada, September 22

"Television" and the FCC

Dear Sirs: I was somewhat surprised at the review of the Waldrop-Borkin book on television published in the July 30 issue of *The Nation.* I had imagined that the day for this type of review had passed. The technique is so obvious: pick out four or five minor errors and blow these up into a review. The fact was obscured, for those who had not read the book, that here is the first important analysis of corporation control of one great section of the communications industry. This analysis has been hailed by reviewers everywhere, and I should have thought that it was in *The Nation's* tradition to welcome such a study. I don't know why a staff member of the FCC should decide to "smear" the book, but could it be because the FCC did not get very favorable notice in the book? H. C. ENGELBRECHT

New York, September 15

Reviewer Reinforcements

Dear Sirs: Mr. Engelbrecht has allowed his loyalty to his friends, Frank Waldrop and Joseph Borkin, the authors of the book on television, to get the better of his judgment. The errors pointed out in my review were not minor, nor were they typographical, but involved important factual inaccuracies and misinterpretations of documents dealing with the very core of the subject.

The most important sources of information bearing upon control of radio and television which the authors used in their book are reports of the Federal Communications Commission's investigation of the Bell Telephone system. Of these, the following are heavily relied upon by the authors: "Scope and Structure of the Bell System," "Control of American Telephone and Telegraph Company," "Bell System Policies and Practices in Radio Broadcasting," "Corporate and Financial History of American Telephone and Telegraph Company," and "Report on Electrical Research Products, Inc."

The first three of these works were written by the reviewer with whose criticism Mr. Engelbrecht disagrees. The report on corporate and financial history was written by Dr. H. Mohat and that on electrical research products by Dr. Francis Staten. Both of these gentlemen have stated to me that, if anything, I was too generous in my review.

Mr. Engelbrecht's attempt to attribute improper motives to the reviewer as an employee of the FCC is a dud. At the time the review was written, I was doing research for the La Follette committee. If Mr. Engelbrecht's point had any significance he might be interested to know that one of the authors of the book he so vehemently defends was on the pay roll of the FCC almost up to the time of the publication of the book. N. R. DANIELIAN

Washington, September 20

The Godkin Tradition

Dear Sirs: For several years I have watched the editorials of many newspapers, and have noticed the continual flow of writing based upon articles and subjects spaded up by *The Nation* a few days before. As these subjects are treated in the newspapers a particular bias is rooted in and the truth rooted out.

The high standard of *The Nation* and the tradition in which it is steeped, as determined by Henry Lawrence Godkin, have put a great burden upon all subsequent editors and publishers of the magazine. They have, I believe, done a remarkable job in view of the fact that the agencies and engines for publishing untruth and garbled information have so greatly increased. ARTHUR GOLDBLATT

Chicago, September 15

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THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York. Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, 50 cents. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs, Information Service. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

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